

# COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Winter, 1964

## THE ASSASSINATION:

The reporters' story: a composite narrative

Television and print: the hunger for news

Washington: changes in White House coverage

*... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible service ...*

*... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.*

Winter, 1963

# COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

*Columbia Journalism Review* is published quarterly under auspices of the faculty, alumni, and friends of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Dean and editorial chairman: Edward W. Barrett. Managing editor: James Boylan.

Editorial staff: Barbara Land, Daniel J. Leab. Art director: Burton Wenk. Production assistant: Lois Ireland. Circulation assistant: Sylvia Orr.

Chairman, publishing committee: Louis G. Cowan. Business manager: Robert O. Shipman. Production supervisor: Monroe Lesser.

Advisory editors: Richard T. Baker, John Foster, Jr., John Hohenberg, Penn T. Kimball, J. Ben Lieberman, Samuel Lubell, John Luter, Melvin Mencher, Lawrence D. Pinkham, Louis M. Starr, William A. Wood, Frederick T. C. Yu.

Volume II, Number 4, Winter, 1964. Published four times a year by the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Editorial and business offices: 504 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027. © 1963 Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Subscription rates: \$6.00 a year. Single copy: \$1.75. Add 50¢ a year for subscriptions going outside the United States and United States possessions.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

## THE ASSASSINATION

**6** The reporters' story: Merriman Smith, Malcolm Kilduff, Jack Bell, Robert E. Baskin, Bob Jackson, Ronnie Dugger, Jerry ter Horst, Tom Wicker, Robert Donovan, Sid Davis, Tom Kirkland

### WHAT WAS SEEN AND READ

**18** Television: a transformation. John Horn  
**20** Newspapers: hunger for print  
**24** Magazines: good luck and bad

### UNRESOLVED ISSUES

**26** Questions of fact. Donald H. Webster  
**28** Questions of rights. Victor F. Robertson  
**30** Questions of performance  
**32** Washington letter: JFK to LBJ: paradoxes of change. Ben H. Bagdikian

## ARTICLES

**37** Newspapers and "metro." Samuel Lubell  
**43** Etiquette for interviewers. From *Static*  
**45** At issue: Can the public advise the press? Barry Bingham, *Editor & Publisher*

## DEPARTMENTS

**2** Passing comment: views of the editors  
**42** Editorial notebook  
**49** Books. Edited by Louis M. Starr  
**52** Reports on journalism. Daniel J. Leab  
**53** Second reading: The legacy of Liebling  
**55** Letters  
**57** Unfinished business  
**60** the lower case

### The march on Washington— to save commercials

Since 1929, the National Association of Broadcasters has administered codes of good practice for commercial broadcasting. The present radio and television codes forbid certain offenses against taste and limit the time devoted to commercials—to no more than 4 minutes 15 seconds, for example, in a half-hour program.

The benefits to viewers and listeners from these codes are likely to be illusory, for 170 of 580 television stations and 3,116 of 4,946 radio stations do not even adhere to the code. Many who do profess find the standards inexpedient. Moreover, the codes have little to say about orderliness on the air, about the "clutter" of advertising and promotion.

Two years ago, the Federal Communications Commission began to look into the matter. (To the broadcasters, this appeared to be another example of the FCC's rapacity; to outsiders, the FCC looked like an overworked body that would hardly undertake more duties without public demand.) The FCC sought an easy path—adoption of the broadcasters' own standards into the FCC rules.

Judging from the reaction of much of the broadcasting industry, one would have thought the FCC had proposed the Communist Manifesto. *Broadcasting* magazine said that the industry should forget that it ever had codes. Vehement broadcasters staged a "march on Washington" and were greeted with warmth by friends in Congress, one of whom introduced a bill to keep the FCC from touching the question. Some broadcasters even resorted to the dubious argument that because broadcasting had dropped commercials after the assassination of the President, regulation was unnecessary.

Under the pressure, the FCC wilted and on January 15 gave up the idea. The episode offered little hope for either the ability of the FCC to act independently or for the statesmanship of many in the broadcasting industry. An enlightened exception was LeRoy Collins, president of the NAB, who insisted that broadcasters live up to their codes.

The broadcasters' victory has not made the issue go away, but has reshaped it. The absence of a government code makes it all the more incumbent on

broadcasters to clean house themselves. One can sympathize with station owners' resistance to annoying regulation—by either the government or their own association. Nonetheless, there is still truth in the words of the first government bureaucrat who regulated broadcasting, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover:

It is inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service, for news, for entertainment, for education and for vital commercial purposes to be drowned in advertising chatter.

Broadcasters can scarcely deny that parts of their programming are being so drowned. It is a measure of their failure to grasp the issue that one of their friends in Congress (Cunningham of Nebraska) said in effect that viewers should put up with the annoyance of commercial interruptions as the price of free enterprise.

What a reversal—to have the public's air looked on as a vehicle for the enrichment of license holders. Shades of Commodore Vanderbilt! Unless the industry abandons this dinosaur kind of thinking, unless it takes hold and develops good practices and good manners that will stay far ahead of codes and government rules, there may eventually be a viewers' "march on Washington"—that is, a redoubled public demand for government intervention. As in the ratings mess of 1963, parts of the broadcasting industry are so far inviting the thing they most hope to avoid.

### Friends in Congress

The coziness between broadcasters and members of Congress in the code affair is a new reminder that there needs to be a hard examination of the role of elected officials in broadcasting. The most obvious objects for suspicion are, of course, the cases—twenty or more of them—where members or their relatives own all or part of stations themselves. Can the FCC, dependent on Congress for appropriations and maintenance of its powers, exercise true independence in examining the licenses of such stations? There are other members who serve as "communications attor-

neys." Finally, there are the cases where there is no formal relationship; the station and the members of Congress simply exchange favors.

Clearly, it is time for Congress to start applying high standards in such cases to itself.

## End of a hush

The release of the Surgeon-General's report lifted news about smoking and health out of the optional category, and all media of journalism — even in tobacco-growing country — responded generously. The hit-and-miss coverage described in the summer issue of the *Review* was replaced by long stories, substantial excerpts from the report, and — on television — ambitious special programs.

## How the West was lost

The Western Edition of *The New York Times* was closed in a wave of retrenchment on January 24, 1964. Perhaps the *Times* indulged in colonialism in setting up on the West Coast, but the principle of making an additional quality newspaper available

was a good one. Unfortunately, the new paper could not offer the bulk of its New York parent or, as an alternative, a thorough *Times* treatment of West Coast news. The West — both advertisers and all but 85,000 readers — shrugged it off.

The failure is regrettable — not least because the life of the experiment was too short to test the idea adequately. Still, the *Times* deserves credit. Such audacity, rather than excessive caution, is the creator of progress.

Footnote: No paper does well in printing a story about itself. In early editions, the *New York Herald Tribune* story on the Western Edition closing was more complete than that in the *Times*.

## Back to monopoly

The *Lima Citizen of Ohio*, founded by union and public backing to oppose the policies of a rival belonging to the Hoiles group, has been sold after trying for seven years to bend the iron laws of newspaper economics. (See the accounts by John M. Harrison in the winter, 1963, *Review* and on page 58 of this issue.)

Why did it fail? First, because it was fighting a lot of money and sharp competitive practices. Second, because its rival gradually reformed and regained popularity. Third, because it came to lean on its enmity for the *News* as an excuse for its existence. The combination was too much and Lima has returned, as a well-known editor of nearby Marion, Ohio, would have put it, to normalcy.



## Neo-realism

Sign of progress: The news broadcasts of the major networks now refer to their competitors without circumlocution or coyness. A recent example was the reporting by NBC of the winning bid by CBS for rights to broadcast National Football League games.

## Justice, delayed

Overdue: the Federal Communications Commission's licenses for the free-wheeling FM stations of the Pacifica Foundation (in New York, Berkeley, and Los Angeles). The FCC's months of hesitation had

## PASSING COMMENT

made it appear that political orthodoxy might influence license renewals; the FCC's statement accompanying the Pacifica decision is a welcome disavowal of any such tests.

### The enlightenment

The *Manchester Union-Leader*, New Hampshire's bastion of Toryism, is making its customary contribution to the primary campaign by calling Governor Rockefeller a "wife-swapper" and a "liar." This was the same paper that, after pursuing a vendetta against the Kennedys, came out after the assassination with a deep-mourning band around its front page.

### The enlightenment (II)

Another example of immoderation was that in the *Delaware State News* of Dover, the state capital. On October 18 (the very date that *Time* ran a half-admiring profile of the paper's editor and publisher, Jack Smyth), the *News* ran an editorial signed by Smyth that said:

"Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus. His name, right now, happens to be Kennedy — let's shoot him, literally, before Christmas."

A fitting rebuke was delivered after the assassination by the *Wilmington News*. It said in part: "... it would seem that any expression of regret for Jack Smyth's words of Oct. 18 would come from their author. Instead, in a maudlin personal column he tells how he cried when he got the news of the 'tragic loss' of a 'wonderful man, personally, a good friend.' ... we are certainly not going to assume the responsibility of explaining Jack Smyth to the rest of the nation. ... But we do know that on this occasion he has brought enduring shame to Delaware and to the American press. If he won't say he's sorry, we will."

### Revelations

The discovery (at last) by newspapers of local Negro communities has resulted in informative series. Among the recent additions are those in the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Hartford Times*, both fol-

lowing the pattern of the pioneering effort two years ago by *The Washington Star*.

### Quiet Southerner

Add to the list of unsung but energetic and responsible Southern weeklies: the *Cheraw Chronicle*, circulation 2,972, which has shown continuing awareness of South Carolina's racial problems and has taken editorial positions calculated to ease them peacefully and justly.

### The endless cycle

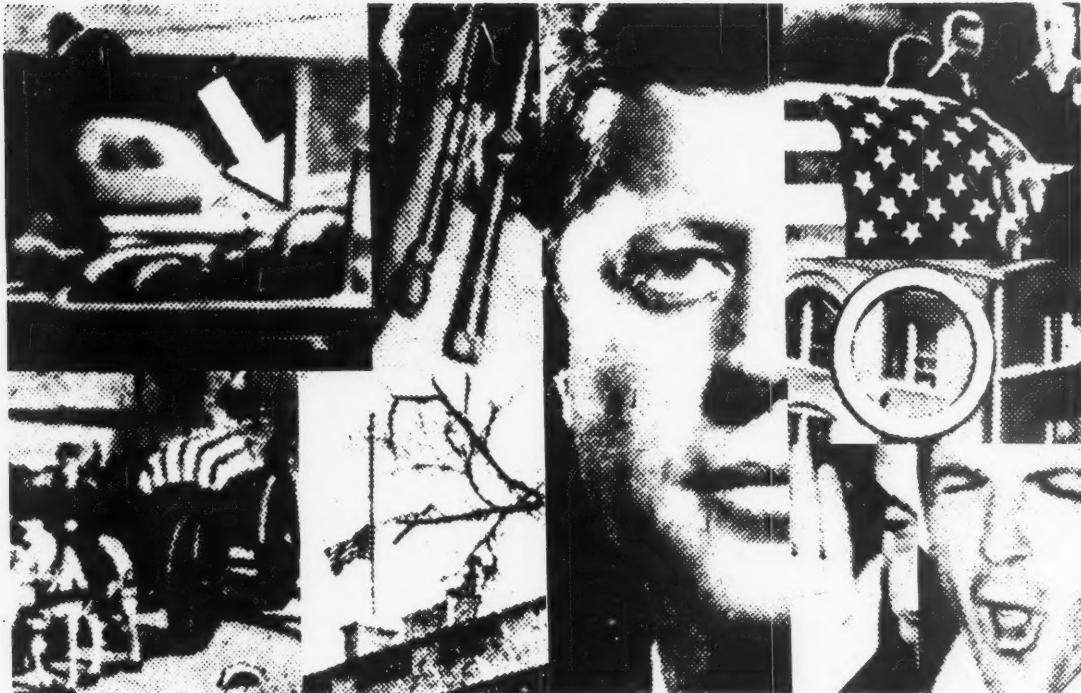
Tie-ins that bind: The mind staggers at the elaborate pattern of mutual back-scratching that publicized the NBC-TV special, "The Art of Collecting." One of the art collectors seen on the program was Norton Simon, a power in the McCall Corporation, which owns *Saturday Review*. That magazine's issue of January 18 contained a sixteen-page section reproducing paintings to be described on NBC, including six from the collection of Mr. Simon. Before the magazine appeared, NBC distributed prints of the sixteen pages. In addition, Aline Saarinen, who was scheduled to narrate the program, wrote an article about it for the Sunday television page of *The New York Times*, a newspaper that had once employed her as a critic. This time she was identified as art editor of an NBC program, "Sunday." Mrs. Saarinen also appeared on Friday morning, January 17, on the NBC "Today" program. On January 15 (an NBC release noted), she had received an award as a Woman of Achievement from the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations. At last on Sunday, January 19, the program itself was broadcast. It seemed almost an afterthought.

### Darts and laurels

¶ *Time* magazine is exposed again in the first issue of *Fact*, a new publication self-described as "fearless." The twenty-two pages of complaints are notable mainly for the utter seriousness with which otherwise intellectual people take *Time's* flippancies.

¶ No compliments to the press on the junket, involving 250 journalists, to the underwater premiere of a Warner Brothers picture. *Variety* says that the junket is still "the cheapest space grab on the books." (It added, incidentally, that television stations were among the biggest takers.)

¶ Still heard too often on the air: "present incumbent," "consensus of opinion."



# THE ASSASSINATION

Like no other events before, the occurrences of November 22 to 25, 1963, belonged to journalism, and specifically to the national organs of journalism. Journalists were trying to feed a hunger that, for once, could not be satisfied — for information, for explanation, for reassurance.

There has been well-earned praise in plenty for all branches of journalism — for professional coolness under stress, for placing the public interest ahead of commerce, and for performance that revealed again the ability of the great news machine of the United States to absorb the unexpected and catastrophic. The *Review* joins this praise.

Yet for journalists the angles of vision must be different and more self-scrutinizing. Again and again one encounters the comment — among those who participated in covering that week end — that emotional strain and personal grief were the only real novelties in the situation, that the organization of the news machine determined in advance the way the story would be covered. In other words, once certain initial decisions were made — for example, the decision of broadcasting to halt regular programming

until after the funeral — coverage became essentially a test of machinery already in existence.

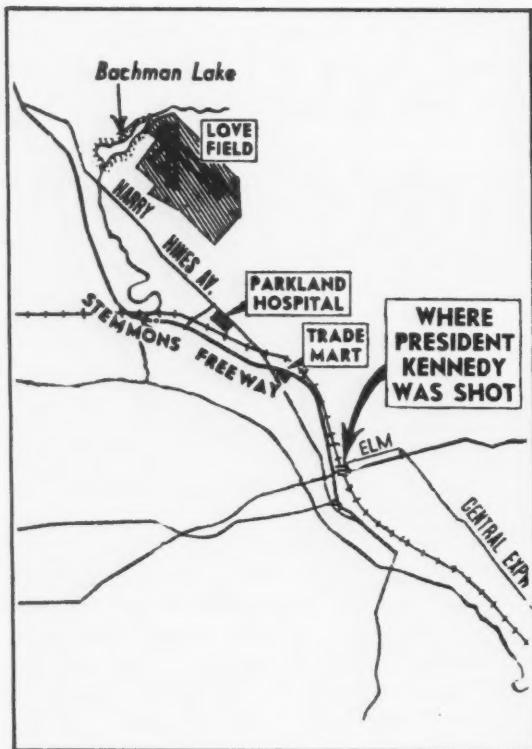
The purpose of this report is to scrutinize and record how the machinery worked, and what the heightened emphases of the week end revealed about American journalism. The *Review's* report is divided as follows:

1. The reporters' story. This section offers a documentary study in the words of reporters in Dallas on November 22, and the concurrent reactions elsewhere.
2. The media — what coverage revealed about the shifting roles of the major print and broadcast news organizations.
3. Questions remaining: a summary of issues rising from the events of November 22 to 25 that have caused controversy — questions of fact, questions of legal rights, questions of performance.
4. Ben H. Bagdikian's "Washington Letter" examines changed mores and operations in White House journalism.

(Portions of the text not otherwise attributed were prepared by editors of the *Review*.)

# The reporters' story

On these pages the Review reproduces the words of men who were in the Presidential party in Dallas on November 22. The words are offered in a connected narrative as a case study in the reflexes and conscious actions of professional journalists under the heaviest kind of pressure and emotional stress. Several of these narratives have been widely distributed, but they have not been previously collated. They emphasize again how little there was for reporters to see and how much, after the first phases, they depended on each other to complete their information. In the columns alongside the narrative are reproduced items from the material that was being transmitted to the public at about the same time. The reproduction of wire-service copy is selective, rather than comprehensive, as are the broadcast excerpts.



Map of Dallas shows routes of reporters on November 22

MERRIMAN SMITH, United Press International: I was riding in the so-called White House press "pool" car, a telephone company vehicle equipped with a mobile radio telephone. I was in the front seat between a driver from the telephone company and Malcolm Kilduff, acting White House press secretary for the President's Texas tour. Three other pool reporters were wedged in the back seat.

KILDUFF: I had just finished saying to the representative of UPI, "Would you mind telling me what in the name of heaven the Texas School Book Repository is? I never heard of a school book 'repository.'" With that we heard the first report.

JACK BELL, The Associated Press: There was a loud bang as though a giant firecracker had exploded in the cavern between the tall buildings we were just leaving behind us.

ROBERT E. BASKIN, *Dallas Morning News*: "What the hell was that?" someone in our car asked. Then there were two more shots, measured carefully.

BOB JACKSON, photographer, *Dallas Times-Herald*: First, somebody joked about it being a firecracker. Then, since I was facing the building where the shots were coming from, I just glanced up and saw two colored men in a window straining to look at a window up above them. As I looked up to the window above, I saw a rifle being pulled back in the window. It might have been resting on the window sill. I didn't see a man.

BELL: The man in front of me screamed, "My God, they're shooting at the President!"

RONNIE DUGGER, *The Texas Observer*: "What happened?" a reporter called out inside the bus ahead of me. Through the windows we saw people breaking

and running down Elm Street in the direction of the underpass, and running to the railing of the arch at the foot of the downtown section and leaping out of our sight onto the grass beyond and below... We speculated someone might have dropped something onto the motorcade from the overpass. I saw an airplane above the area and wondered if it might have been dropping something.

**JERRY TER HORST, Detroit News:** There was a great clamor in the bus, "Open the doors. Let us out," but the bus speeded up, and it was impossible. The doors were not opening, and obviously the driver was staying with the police escort.

**SMITH:** Everybody in our car began shouting at the driver to pull up closer to the President's car. But at this moment, we saw the big bubble-top and a motorcycle escort roar away at high speed. We screamed at our driver, "Get going, get going." We careened around the Johnson car and its escort and set out down the highway, barely able to keep in sight of the President's car and the accompanying Secret Service follow-up car.

**TOM WICKER, The New York Times:** Jim Mathis of The Advance [Newhouse] Syndicate went to the front of our bus and looked ahead to where the President's car was supposed to be, perhaps ten cars ahead of us. He hurried back to his seat. "The President's car just sped off," he said. "Really gunned away."

... The press bus in its stately pace rolled on to the Trade Mart, where the President was to speak.

**SMITH:** I... radioed the Dallas bureau of UPI that three shots had been fired at the Kennedy motorcade. [LEONARD LYONS in the *New York Post*.] The other reporter kept demanding the phone, and tried reaching over Smith's shoulder to grab it. Smith held on, telling his desk, "Read the bulletin back to me." The other pool reporter started clawing and pummeling Smith — who ducked under the dashboard to avoid the blows. Smith held on to the phone, dictating and rechecking the bulletins. Just before the car pulled up at the hospital, Smith surrendered the phone.

**BELL:** I grabbed the radiophone, got the operator, gave the Dallas bureau number, heard someone answer. I shouted that three shots had been fired at the President's motorcade. The phone went dead and I couldn't tell whether anyone had heard me. Frantically, I tried to get the operator back. The phone was still out.

**BASKIN:** We began to suspect the worst when we roared up to the emergency entrance of Parkland Hospital. The scene there was one of sheer horror. The President lay face down on the back seat...

**BELL:** We were turning into the emergency entrance to the hospital when I hopped out to sprint for the

ANSI

INSERT

DALLAS--FIRST LEAD KENNEDY TOUR (A159-A164DN) INSERT AFTER 15TH

GRAF "HE SAID THAT X X ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD."

KENNEDY AND MRS. KENNEDY GOT AN ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME FROM A LARGE

CROWD WHEN THEY LANDED AT DALLAS' LOVE FIELD.

THE FIRST LADY, AS BEFORE, WALKED WITH THE PRESIDENT TO SHAKE

HAND WITH THE CROWD BEHIND A BARRIER. SHE CARRIED A BOUQUET

OF RED ROSES, WHICH CLASHED FURIOUSLY WITH THE FUSCHIA COLOR OF HER TWO-

PIECE SUIT. SHE MANAGED, HOWEVER, TO KEEP THE ROSES IN HAND WHILE

MAKING HANDS WITH MEMBERS OF THE CROWD. AT ONE POINT, MRS. KENNEDY

ALMOST LOST ONE OF HER WHITE GLOVES BUT RETRIEVED IT QUICKLY.

THERE WERE NO GOLDWATER SIGNS IN THE AIRPORT CROWD. ONE SEGMENT OF

THE CROWD REPRESENTED YOUNG DEMOCRATS OF SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY.

THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE FEMALE CHEERING OVER THE PRESIDENT AND LUSTY

MALE SHOUTS OF "HEY, JACKIE!"

AS THE PRESIDENT'S CARAVAN ROLLED ALONG THE HIGHWAY INTO DALLAS

THERE WERE SPECTATORS GATHERED ON EACH SIDE. AT ONE POINT, ONE OF THEM

HELD UP A SIGN WHICH SAID "GOLDWATER IN 1964 (C.)."

KENNEDY AT FORT WORTH, ETC., 15TH GRAF PVC.

B1234PC5 W:

THE CASE WAS OPENED AND AN ENVELOPE FOUND CONTAINING 44 \$100

BILLS, THE WITNESS SAID. THE STATE HAS SAID IT WOULD PRODUCE THAT

PIECE OF EVIDENCE BUT IT HAD NOT LISTED IT AS ONE "OF THE SEVEN

LINKS." THE DEFENSE HAS IMPLIED IT WILL TAKE THE LINE THAT CAROL'S

DEATH AFTER A SAVAGE BLUDGEONING AND STABBING IN HER HOME WAS THE

RESULT OF AN ATTEMPTED

NORED A1234PC5

UPI ATN DA

PRECEDE KENNEDY

DALLAS, NOV. 22 (UPI)--THREE SHOTS WERE FIRED AT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S

MOTORCADE TODAY IN DOWNTOWN DALLAS.

JT1234PC5..

UPI ATN DA

URGENT

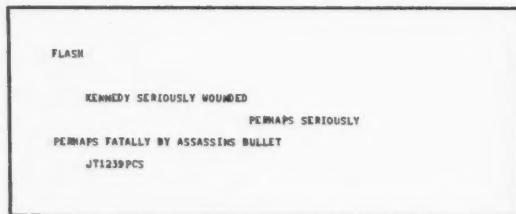
1ST ADD SHOTS, DALLAS (ATN) XXX DOWNTOWN DALLAS.

NO CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED.

THE INCIDENT OCCURRED NEAR THE COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE ON MAIN

STREET, JUST EAST OF AN UNDERPASS LEADING TOWARD THE TRADE MART WHERE

THE PRESIDENT WAS TO MA



"Bulletin . . . In Dallas, Texas, three shots were fired at President Kennedy's motorcade. The first reports say that the President was seriously wounded . . ." (Walter Cronkite)

President's car. The first hard fact I had that the President was hit was when I saw him lying on the seat. Because he was face down, I asked a Secret Service man, to make doubly certain, if this was the President, and he said it was. He said he didn't think the President was dead.

SMITH: I knew I had to get to a telephone immediately. Clint Hill, the Secret Service agent in charge of the detail assigned to Mrs. Kennedy, was leaning over into the rear of the car. "How badly was he hit, Clint?" I asked. "He's dead," Hill replied curtly. . . . I raced . . . a short stretch of sidewalk into a hospital corridor. The first thing I spotted was a small clerical office, more of a booth than an office. Inside, a bespectacled man stood shuffling what appeared to be hospital forms. At a wicket much like a bank teller's cage, I spotted a telephone on the shelf. "How do you get outside?" I gasped. "The President has been hurt and this is an emergency call." "Dial nine," he said, shoving the phone toward me. It took two tries before I successfully dialed the Dallas UPI number. Quickly I dictated a bulletin.

Litters bearing the President and the Governor rolled by me as I dictated, but my back was to the entrance of the emergency room about 75 or 100 feet away. I knew they had passed, however, from the horrified expression that suddenly spread over the face of the man behind the wicket.

[SAUL PETT in *AP Log*]: In the [AP Dallas] bureau, [Bob] Johnson was just returning to his desk. Executive Editor Felix McKnight called from the *Times-Herald* newsroom: "Bob, we hear the President has been shot, but we haven't confirmed it." Johnson raced for his typewriter. Staffer Ronnie Thompson told him: "Bell tried to call a minute ago but he was cut off." Johnson wrote the dateline of a bulletin. He had just reached the dash that follows the AP logotype when the phone rang again. It was staffer James W. Altgens, a Wirephoto operator-photographer known to everyone as "Ike," on duty as a photographer several blocks from the office. . . .

"Bob, the President has been shot."

"Ike, how do you know?"

"I saw it. There was blood on his face. Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and grabbed him and cried, 'Oh, no!' The motorcade raced onto the freeway."

"Ike, you saw that?"

"Yes. I was shooting pictures then and I saw it."

With the phone cradled to his ear, Johnson's fingers raced.

ROBERT DONOVAN, *Los Angeles Times*: We went to the Trade Mart, and the first thing we wanted to do was look for the President's car, and we didn't find it. But even then it didn't raise any positive proof in

my mind, because there were a number of entrances to this Trade Mart.... Then it became obvious something had happened. We ran into this merchandise mart, which is an utter maze. We filed into the corridor of this hall, and the waiters were bringing out filet mignon to an utterly unsuspecting audience, and they told us, to make matters utterly worse in our haste, that the press room was on the fourth floor. So, of course, what were there but escalators? So up we go, and we ran into the press room and it was sort of like air currents. We were all going around in a pattern of least resistance.

DUGGER: In the alarm and confusion, the reporters were full of doubt, and some were a little panicky. No one wanted to say what he was not sure of. Reporters had their editors on the phone and nothing definite to tell them.

SID DAVIS, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company: I phoned to Washington saying, "Something has happened."

DUGGER: I went from reporters at telephones who did not know and asked me frantically what I knew — I went on a run to a group of four or five who were gathered around M. W. Stevenson, chief of the criminal investigation division of the Dallas police. "The President was hit, that's our information at present." He had been taken to Parkland. How badly hurt? "No, sir, I do not know."

WICKER: At the Trade Mart, rumor was sweeping the hundreds of Texans eating their lunch. It was the only rumor I have ever seen; it was moving across that crowd like a wind over a wheatfield. A man eating a grapefruit seized my arm as I passed. "Has the President been shot?" he asked. "I don't think so," I said. "But something happened."

TOM KIRKLAND, managing editor, *Denton Record-Chronicle*: The rumor started spreading here (at the Trade Mart) about 12:45 p.m., but nobody believed it. Everyone just stood around in disbelief. At about 1 p.m. [it was] announced that there had been a mishap during the parade. Everybody had finished eating. He told them that the mishap was not serious, but there would be a delay in the President's address. WICKER: With the other reporters — I suppose 35 of them — I went on through to the upstairs press room. We were hardly there when Marianne Means of Hearst Headline Service hung up a telephone, ran to a group of us and said, "The President's been shot. He's at Parkland Hospital." One thing I learned that day; I suppose I already knew it, but that day made it plain. A reporter must trust his instinct. When Miss Means said those eight words — I never learned who told her — I knew absolutely they were true. Everyone did. We ran for the press buses.

BULLETIN: HATTER  
DALLAS-FIRE-1 ADD KENNEDY SHOT X X SPED ON.  
AP PHOTOGRAPHER JAMES W. ALTGREN SAID HE SAW BLOOD ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S HEAD.  
ALTGREN SAID HE HEARD TWO SHOTS BUT THOUGHT SOMEONE WAS SHOOTING  
FIREWORKS UNTIL HE SAW THE BLOOD ON THE PRESIDENT.  
ALTGREN SAID HE SAW NO ONE WITH A GUN.  
MK1241PCS A MH

UPI A100 DA  
1ST ADD 1ST LEAD SHOOTING DALLAS (9M DALLAS IX TODAY.  
THE PRESIDENT, HIS LIMP BODY CRADLED IN THE ARMS OF HIS WIFE, WAS  
RUSHED TO PARKLAND HOSPITAL. THE GOVERNOR WAS ALSO TAKEN TO PARKLAND.  
CLINT HILL, A SECRET SERVICE AGENT ASSIGNED TO MRS. KENNEDY, SAID  
"HE'S DEAD," AS THE PRESIDENT WAS LIFTED FROM THE REAR OF A WHITE HOUSE  
TOURING CAR, THE FAMOUS "BUBBLETOP" FROM WASHINGTON. HE WAS RUSHED  
TO AN EMERGENCY ROOM IN THE HOSPITAL.  
OTHER WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS WERE IN DOUBT AS THE CORRIDORS OF THE  
HOSPITAL ERUPTED IN PANDEMONIUM.  
THE INCIDENT OCCURRED JUST EAST OF THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS FACING A  
PARK IN DOWNTOWN DALLAS.  
REPORTERS ABOUT FIVE CAR LENGTHS BEHIND THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE  
REAR  
MORE 144PES

PANDEMUM BROKE LOOSE AROUND THE SCENE.  
THE SECRET SERVICE WAVED THE MOTORCADE ON AT TOP SPEED  
TO THE HOSPITAL.  
EVEN AT HIGH SPEED IT TOOK NEARLY FIVE MINUTES TO GET THE CAR  
TO THE AMBULANCE ENTRANCE OF THE HOSPITAL.  
REPORTERS SAW KENNEDY LYING FLAT ON HIS FACE ON SATTE  
HIS CAR.

A20901\*  
BELL SAID A MAN AND A WOMAN WERE SCRAMBLING ON THE UPPER LEVEL  
OF A WALKWAY OVERLOOKING THE UNDERPASS.  
LAWRENCE O'BRIEN, PRESIDENTIAL AID, SAID HE HAD NO INFORMATION  
ON WHETHER THE PRESIDENT STILL WAS ALIVE.  
MR. KENNEDY WAS WEPPING AND TRYING TO HOLD UP HER HUSBAND'S  
HEAD WHEN REPORTERS REACHED THE CAR.  
MK1249PCS

A21001\*  
BULLETIN  
FIRST LEAD KENNEDY SHOT  
DALLAS, NOV. 22 (AP)—PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND GOV. JOHN CONNALLY  
OF TEXAS WERE SHOT FROM AIRBUCH TODAY.  
IT WAS NOT KNOWN WHETHER EITHER WAS KILLED.  
MK1250PCS

DONOVAN: A man I took to be a Dallas radio station man said to me that the President had been shot and may be dead. Well, it was stupefying, utterly stupefying. We had just seen him in the bright sunshine with his wife . . . Then there was a great clamor of "Where is he? Where is anybody? Where is the President?" This Dallas radio man went to a policeman and came back and said he was in Parkland Hospital. I said, "How can we get there?" and he said, "I have a station wagon. Come on. I will take you." By this time we were all running back through the dining hall before the startled diners, and Tom Wicker, of *The New York Times*, was grabbed by the head waiter, who said, "Here, you can't run in here." Wicker just ran over him.

WICKER: I pulled free and ran on. Doug Kiker of the *Herald Tribune* barreled head-on into a waiter carrying a plate of potatoes. Waiter and potatoes flew about the room. Kiker ran on. He was in his first week with the *Trib*, and his first presidential trip.

KIRKLAND: At 1:07, Eric Johnsson announced in a very, very trembling voice: "I'm not sure that I can say what I have to say. I feel almost as I did on Pearl Harbor day." At that point his voice broke. Then he announced that the President and the Governor had been shot . . . It was quiet.

DONOVAN: Peter Lisagor, of the *Chicago Daily News*, and I and some other reporters got into a station wagon with his radio man and we went out of the Trade Mart at a breakneck clip with his horn blaring, through traffic, through lights. It was a horrifying ride.

WICKER: I barely got aboard a moving press bus. Bob Pierpoint of CBS was aboard and he said that he now recalled having heard something that could have been shots—or firecrackers, or motorcycle backfire. We talked anxiously, unbelieving, afraid.

DAVIS: I went to a policeman and said, "You've got to get me to Parkland Hospital," and he said: "Buddy, all the cars are gone. We have nothing available here to get you anyplace." I said, "You have got to get me there. I am a member of the White House Press," or something of that sort. I insisted. He stammered that he had no vehicles for me, but he stood out in the middle of the freeway and stopped a car. It was about a 1948 Cadillac driven by a Negro gentleman, and the policeman said, "Get this man to Parkland Hospital right away." This fellow said, "Yes, sir." . . . he hit the accelerator on that car, and I nearly went through the back end, and I shouted up front to him and said, "Sir, we both want to get there. Take it easy."

DONOVAN: As we approached the hospital on a double-lane highway, [the radio-station man] saw traffic



piling up ahead of him, so he turned in and went against the approaching traffic, some of it approaching at high speed, horn blowing. Well, the police had seen this station wagon coming up the wrong end of the street with its horn blowing, assumed it was full of officials, and stopped all traffic and waved us into the hospital grounds.

**WICKER:** At its emergency entrance stood the President's car, the top up, a bucket of bloody water beside it. Automatically, I took down its license number — GG300 District of Columbia.

**DUGGER:** In the hospital I heard people who work there saying, "Connally, too." "It's a shame, I don't care who it is." No one knew who was alive or who was dead. At the emergency entrance, Senator Ralph Yarborough, terribly shaken, gave the first eyewitness account that I had heard. He had been in the third car, with the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson; removed from the President's car by the one filled with Secret Service men.

**WICKER:** The details he gave us were good and mostly—as it later proved—accurate. But he would not describe to us the appearance of the President as he was wheeled into the hospital, except to say that he was "gravely wounded." We could not doubt, then, that it was serious. I had chosen that day to be without a notebook. I took notes on the back of my mimeographed schedule of the two-day tour of Texas we had been so near to concluding. Today, I cannot read many of the notes; on November 22, they were as clear as 60-point type.

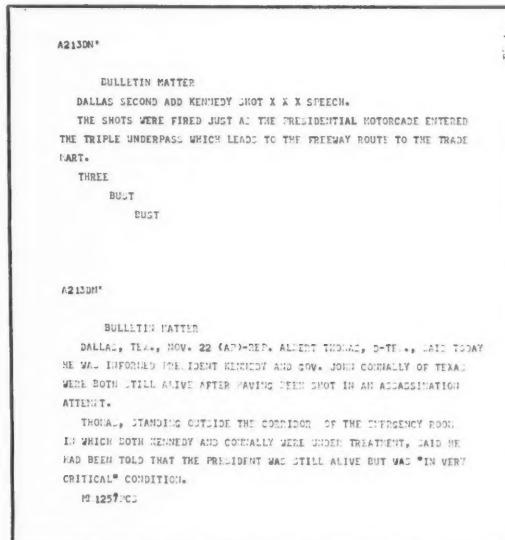
**DUGGER:** Because I had reached Yarborough first before many of the reporters came up, I then told a group of them what he had said from the first. This was a common scene the rest of the day, reporters sharing what they had learned with their colleagues.

**WICKER:** Mac Kilduff... came out of the hospital. We gathered round and he told us the President was alive. It wasn't true, we later learned; but Mac thought it was true at that time, and he didn't mislead us about a possible recovery... Kilduff promised more details in five minutes and went back into the hospital. We were barred. Word came to us second-hand—I don't remember exactly how—from Bob Clark of ABC, one of the men in the press "pool" car near the President's, that he had been lying face down in Mrs. Kennedy's lap when the car arrived at Parkland. No signs of life... I knew Clark and respected him. I took his report at face value, even at second-hand. It turned out to be true.

**KILDUFF:** At 1:04 they were still trying to work on him, as... Dr. Perry's statements have subsequently indicated. It was only a few minutes later, however,



James Altgens' photo (AP) was transmitted 25 minutes after shooting



UPI 12:00 DA

MRS. KENNEDY APPARENTLY WAS SAFE. MRS. CONNALLY ALSO WAS SAFE, IT APPEARED. BOTH WOMEN WERE STUNMED. KENNEDY, ACCORDING TO A MEMBER OF HIS STAFF, WAS STILL ALIVE AT 12:55 P.M. CST.

JT109PCS

UPI 12:00 DA

BOTH WOMEN DISAPPEARED INTO THE EMERGENCY SECTION OF PARKLAND HOSPITAL, TO WAIT NEWS OF THEIR HUSBANDS. OUTSIDE THE EMERGENCY ROOM, IN A GUFF-WALLED HALLWAY, ANXIOUS MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF GATHERED, INCLUDING MAJ. GEN. CHESTER W. CLIFTON, MILITARY AIDE TO THE PRESIDENT AND BRIG. GEN. GODFREY MCCHUGH, AIR FORCE AIDE.

JT109PCS

UPI 12:00 DA

MRS. EVELYN LINCOLN, KENNEDY'S SECRETARY, PAWE A CLOUSE, PRESS SECRETARY TO MRS. KENNEDY, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE STAFF WERE SHOWN TO A SPECIAL WAITING ROOM NOT FAR FROM THE EMERGENCY ROOM. A SPECIAL WAITING ROOM NOT FAR FROM THE EMERGENCY ROOM AREA.

JT109PCS

UPI 12:00 DA

MRS. LINCOLN BROKE INTO TEARS AT ONE POINT, BUT MANAGED TO PULL HERSELF TOGETHER AND RESUME WHAT APPEARED TO BE OFFICIAL DUTIES. MRS. JOHNSON, FLANKED BY TWO SECRET SERVICE AGENTS, ARRIVED AT THE HOSPITAL SHORTLY AFTER.

JT110PCS

UPI 12:00 DA

MRS. JOHNSON ARRIVED AT 1:15 P.M. AND WENT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EMERGENCY ROOM.

JT110PCS

that in talking to Kenney O'Donnell [White House Appointments Secretary] that we knew the President was, in fact, dead.... About 10 or 15 minutes after 1:00 I got hold of Kenney and I said, "This is a terrible time to have to approach you on this, but the world has got to know that President Kennedy is dead." He said, "Well, don't they know it already?" and I said, "No, I haven't told them." He said, "Well, you are going to have to make the announcement. Go ahead. But you better check it with Mr. Johnson." ... His [President Johnson's] reaction was immediate on that. And he said, "No, I think we better wait a minute. Are they prepared to get me out of here?" ... By this time it was about 1:20. I went back and talked to President Johnson, and I said, "Well, I am going to make the announcement as soon as you leave." ... Then the two of us, President Johnson and myself, walked out of the emergency entrance together, and everyone was screaming at me, "What can you tell us?" It was a scene of absolute confusion. DUGGER: Reporters trying to make phone calls found that all the hospital phones had gone dead. I chased across the street to find a phone in a filling station to call [the] paper I was working with. While I was standing in the storeroom where the phone was, waiting to get through, I heard it announced on the radio, "The President is dead." I told the editor and rushed back to the hospital. I first believed and comprehended that he was dead when I heard Doug Kiker of the *Herald Tribune* swearing bitterly and passionately, "Goddam the sonsabitches." Yes, he was dead. But who had announced it? In the press room that had been improvised out of a classroom, no one seemed to know.

WICKER: When Wayne Hawks of the White House staff appeared to say that a press room had been set up in a hospital classroom at the left rear of the building, the group of reporters began struggling across the lawn in that direction. I lingered to ask a motorcycle policeman if he had heard on his radio anything about the pursuit or capture of the assassin. He hadn't, and I followed the other reporters. As I was passing the open convertible in which Vice President and Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough had been riding in the motorcade, a voice boomed from its radio: "The President of the United States is dead. I repeat—it has just been announced that the President of the United States is dead." There was no authority, no word of who had announced it. But—instinct again—I believed it instantly. It sounded true. I knew it was true. I stood still a moment, then began running.... I jumped a chain fence looping around the drive, not even breaking stride. Hugh Sidey of *Time*, a close friend of the President, was

walking slowly ahead of me. "Hugh," I said, "the President's dead. Just announced on the radio. I don't know who announced it but it sounded official to me." Sidey stopped, looked at me, looked at the ground. I couldn't talk about it. I couldn't think about it. I couldn't do anything but run on to the press room. Then I told the others what I had heard. Sidey, I learned a few minutes later, stood where he was a minute. Then he saw two Catholic priests. He spoke to them. Yes, they told him, the President was dead. They had administered the last rites.

DUGGER: Then it was that Hugh Sidey of *Time* came in and, his voice failing with emotion, told the assembled press that two Catholic priests had told him and another reporter or so that the priests had given the President the last rites.

TER HORST: I had just paid somebody in the hospital, a nurse's aid or somebody, \$15 to keep a line open to Detroit. . . . I ran down through the corridor and Hugh Sidey . . . was saying, "I have just talked to Father Huber and he said, 'He is dead, all right.'" I ran back down the corridor to the telephone, to relay this to my office in Detroit, and I couldn't talk. The girl who had kept the line open for me went and got a little paper cup of water. When I said over the telephone what Father Huber had said, my rewrite man on the other end dissolved. He couldn't go on. They had to put another rewrite man on.

[AP Log]: Bob Ford . . . held an open line to the office. Then Val Imm, society editor of the *Times-Herald*, came bursting through a mob of newsmen, grabbed an adjoining phone, shouted into it. Ford relayed her words . . .

SMITH: Telephones were at a premium in the hospital and I clung to mine for dear life. I was afraid to stray from the wicket lest I lose contact with the outside world. My decision was made for me, however, when Kilduff and Wayne Hawks . . . ran by me, shouting that Kilduff would make a statement shortly in the so-called nurses room a floor above and at the far end of the hospital. I threw down the phone and sped after them. We reached the door of the conference room and there were loud cries of "Quiet!"

KILDUFF: I got up there and I thought, "Well, this is really the first press conference on a road trip I have ever had to hold." I started to say it, and all I could say was "Excuse me, let me catch my breath," and I thought in my mind, "All right, what am I going to say, and how am I going to say it?" I remember opening my mouth one time and I couldn't say it, and I think it must have been two or three minutes.

DUGGER: Kilduff . . . came into the classroom and stood on the dais before the bright green blackboard,

UPI 4450 3A  
A FATHER HUBER, OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH IN DALLAS ADMINISTERED THE LAST SACRAMENT TO THE CHURCH TO THE PRESIDENT.  
JT184PC

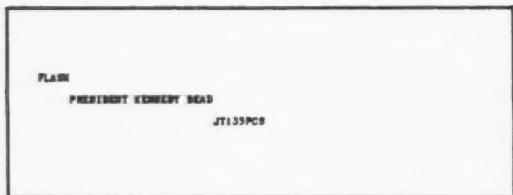
UPI 4450 3A  
SHERIFF'S OFFICERS TOOK A YOUNG MAN INTO CUSTODY AT THE SCENE AND QUESTIONED HIM BEHIND CLOSED DOORS.  
JT184PC

UPI 4450 3A  
THE SACRAMENT WAS ADMINISTERED SHORTLY BEFORE 1 P.M.  
ANOTHER PRIEST, WHO DECLINED TO GIVE HIS NAME, SAID THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE STILL WAS ALIVE AT THE TIME.  
JT184PC

UPI 4450 3A  
THE VICE PRESIDENT'S WIFE, AFTER A QUICK CHECK ON CONDITIONS IN THE EMERGENCY SECTION, HAD HER HUSBAND VANISH.  
JT184PC

UPI 4450 3A  
THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS SOMEWHERE IN THE HOSPITAL, BUT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE HIS PRECISE WHEREABOUTS AT ONCE.  
HE WAS REPORTEDLY SHOCKED BY THE SHOOTING. DOCTORS WERE TRYING TO KEEP HIM AS QUIET AS POSSIBLE.  
JT184PC

FLASH  
DALLAS  
  
DALLAS--TWO PRIESTS WHO WERE WITH KENNEDY SAY HE IS DEAD OF BULLET WOUNDS.  
PM132PC



his voice, too, vibrating from his feelings. "President John F. Kennedy—" he began. "Hold it," called out a cameraman. "President John F. Kennedy died at approximately one o'clock Central Standard Time today here in Dallas. He died of a gunshot wound in the brain. I have no other details regarding the assassination of the President. Mrs. Kennedy was not hit. Governor Connally was hit. The Vice President was not hit." Had President Johnson taken the oath of office? "No. He has left." On that, Kilduff would say no more. As Kilduff lit a cigarette, the flame of his lighter quivered violently.

DONOVAN: ...there was a brief flurry of questioning among the reporters themselves in the press room as to whether Johnson would take the oath there or take it in Washington, and the consensus immediately prevailed, of course, he would take it in Dallas, because in the kind of world we are living in, you can't have the United States without a President, even in the time it takes to get from Dallas to Washington.

SMITH: I raced into a nearby office. The telephone switchboard at the hospital was hopelessly jammed. I spotted Virginia Payette, wife of UPI's Southwest division manager and a veteran reporter in her own right. I told her to try getting through on pay telephones on the floor above. Frustrated by the inability to get through the hospital switchboard, I appealed to a nurse. She led me through a maze of corridors and back stairways to another floor and a lone pay booth. I got the Dallas office. Virginia had gotten through before me.

WICKER: The search for phones began. Jack Gertz, traveling with us for A.T. & T., was frantically moving them by the dozen into the hospital but few were ready yet. I wandered down the hall, found a doctor's office, walked in, and told him I had to use the phone. He got up without a word and left. I battled the hospital switchboard for five minutes and finally got a line to New York... The whole conversation [with New York] probably took three minutes. Then I hung up, thinking of all there was to know, all there was I didn't know. I wandered down a corridor and ran into Sidey and Chuck Roberts of *Newsweek*. They'd seen a hearse pulling up at the emergency entrance and we figured they were about to move the body. We made our way to the hearse — a Secret Service agent who knew us helped us through suspicious Dallas police lines — and the driver said his instructions were to take the body to the airport. That confirmed our hunch, but gave me at least, another wrong one. Mr. Johnson, I declared, would fly to Washington with the body and be sworn in there. We posted ourselves inconspicuously near the emergency entrance. Within minutes they brought the

body out in a bronze coffin. . . . Mrs. Kennedy walked by the coffin, her hand on it, her head down, her hat gone, her dress and stockings spattered. She got into the hearse with the coffin. The staff men crowded into cars and followed. That was just about the only eyewitness matter that I got with my own eyes that entire afternoon. Roberts commandeered a seat in a police car and followed, promising to "fill" Sidey and me as necessary. We made the same promise to him and went back to the press room.

DAVIS: Jiggs Fauver, of the White House transportation office, grabbed my arm and said, "Come with me. We need a pool. Don't ask any questions." I grabbed my typewriter and left . . .

SMITH: I ran back through the hospital to the conference room. There Jiggs Fauver . . . grabbed me and said Kilduff wanted a pool of three men immediately to fly back to Washington on Air Force One, the Presidential aircraft. "He wants you downstairs, and he wants you right now," Fauver said. Down the stairs I ran and into the driveway, only to discover Kilduff had just pulled out in our telephone car. Charles Roberts . . . Sid Davis . . . and I implored a police officer to take us to the airport in his squad car. On the way to the airport, the young police officer driving said, "I hope they don't blame this on Dallas." I don't know who it was in the car that said, "They will." The Secret Service had requested that no sirens be used in the vicinity, but the Dallas officer did a masterful job of getting us through some of the worst traffic I have ever seen. As we piled out of the car on the edge of the runway about 200 yards from the Presidential aircraft, Kilduff spotted us and motioned for us to hurry. We trotted to him and he said the plane could take two pool men to Washington; that Johnson was about to take the oath of office aboard the plane and would take off immediately thereafter. I saw a bank of telephone booths beside the runway and asked if I had time to advise my news service. He said, "But for God's sake, hurry."

Then began another telephone nightmare. The Dallas office rang busy. I tried calling Washington. All circuits were busy. Then I called the New York bureau of UPI and told them about the impending installation of a new President aboard the airplane. WICKER: [In the press room] we received an account from Julian Reed, a staff assistant, of Mrs. John Connally's recollection of the shooting . . . The doctors had hardly left before Hawks came in and told us Mr. Johnson would be sworn in immediately at the airport. We dashed for the press buses, still parked outside. Many a campaign had taught me something about press buses and I ran a little harder, got there first, and went to the wide rear seat. That is the best



ATLANTA: About  
O'BRIEN  
INVESTIGATOR LEAD KENNEDY DALLAS (AT30) AFTER 13TH PMH  
X X X BIRMINGHAM BIRMINGHAM  
THE SUSPECTED ASSASSIN WAS CHASED INTO THE TEXAS THEATER IN THE  
OAK CLIFF SECTION AND SEIZED AFTER HE HAD SHOT AND KILLED A POLICE  
OFFICER.  
THE MAN, WHO WORE A BROWN SHIRT, WAS CAPTURED BY THE  
POLICEMAN'S PARTNER AFTER A STRUGGLE. THE SUSPECT WAS QUOTED AS  
SAYING: "IT'S ALL OVER NOW."  
(PICKED 14TH PMH: A DALLAS)  
MISSISSIPPI  
O'VVY  
FLASH  
DALLAS  
DALLAS--JOHNSON PRESIDENT.



16 *Columbia Journalism Review*

place on a bus to open up a typewriter and get some work done. On the short trip to the airport, I got about 500 words on paper—leaving a blank space for the hour of Mr. Johnson's swearing-in, and putting down the mistaken assumption that the scene would be somewhere in the terminal.

SMITH: Kilduff came out of the plane and motioned wildly toward my booth. I slammed down the phone and jogged across the runway. A detective stopped me and said, "You dropped your pocket comb."... Kilduff propelled us to the President's suite two-thirds of the way back in the plane.... I wedged inside the door and began counting. There were 27 people in this compartment.

DAVIS: ...the Judge, Mrs. Sarah Hughes, of Dallas, told the President to raise his right hand and repeat after her. Then he repeated the oath. At that moment, I started the second hand on my watch and I clocked it at 28 seconds.

SMITH: The two-minute ceremony concluded at 3:38 P.M. EST and seconds later, the President said firmly, "Now, let's get airborne." Col. James Swindal, pilot of the plane, a big gleaming silver and blue fanjet, cut on the starboard engines immediately. Several persons, including Sid Davis of Westinghouse, left the plane at that time. The White House had room for only two pool reporters on the return flight and these posts were filled by Roberts and me, although at the moment we could find no empty seats. At 3:47 PM EST the wheels of Air Force One cleared the runway.

WICKER: As we arrived at a back gate along the air-strip, we could see Air Force One, the Presidential jet, screaming down the runway and into the air.

DUGGER: The details were given to us by a pool reporter, Sid Davis.... I shall not soon forget the picture in my mind, that man standing on the trunk of a white car, his figure etched against the blue, blue Texas sky, all of us massed around him at his knees as he told us what had happened in that crowded compartment in Air Force One...

WICKER: He and Roberts—true to his promise—had put together a magnificent "pool" report on the swearing-in. Davis read it off, answered questions, and gave a picture that so far as I know was complete, accurate and has not yet been added to.

The Reporter: [In Washington], reporters at a loss to "cover" the event, hung around the White House pressroom and concentrated partly by habit and partly by duty on trivial details. Lyndon Johnson, they were informed by a briefer in Pierre Salinger's office, had left Dallas at 2:47 Central Standard Time. Was that 2:47? Yes, 2:47. He had been sworn in to office aboard the plane by U.S. District Judge Sarah

T. Hughes. Could the briefer spell that? Yes, Sarah had an "h." In midafternoon Senator Hubert Humphrey stopped in at the White House and consented to an informal chat with newsmen. There was almost nothing to ask him. Did he see any significance in the fact that it had happened in Dallas? came one idiotic try. Humphrey was taken aback. He shook his head abruptly and he left. Those White House aides familiar to reporters were too stricken to be questioned, even if there had been questions to ask. "I'm sorry," was the most anyone could say. Everywhere there was silent unease at the inability to locate the source of government, to know even where government was. It was reflected in the compulsive scuttling of reporters from one place to another where they could only observe arrivals and departures.

**WICKER:** Kiker and I ran a half-mile to the terminal, cutting through a baggage-handling room to get there. I went immediately to a phone booth and dictated my 500-word lead, correcting it as I read, embellishing it too. Before I hung up I got [Harrison] Salisbury and asked him to cut into my story whatever the wires were filing on the assassin. There was no time left to chase down the Dallas police and find out those details on my own. Dallas Love Field has a mezzanine running around its main waiting room; it is equipped with writing desks for travelers. I took one and went to work. My recollection is that it was then about 5 P.M. New York time.

**SMITH:** It was dark when Air Force One began to skim over the lights of the Washington area, lining up for a landing at Andrews Air Force Base. The plane touched down at 5:59 P.M. EST. I thanked the stewards for rigging up the typewriter for me, pulled on my raincoat and started down the forward ramp. Roberts and I stood under a wing and watched the casket being lowered... [we] were given seats on another 'copter bound for the White House lawn.

*The Reporter:* It was not quite relief but at last a sense of location, of reality, that came on the South Lawn of the White House later in that strangely balmy evening. With terrific noise and lots of wind, resembling a monstrous wasp, the brown army helicopter bearing President Johnson bore down on the White House, hovered a moment, and then came to rest on the floodlit lawn... almost at once the exchange of gossipy desperate questions among reporters was altered. The known, manageable Washington seemed to return with Johnson. Where was he going? reporters now demanded. Who was he seeing? What was the President going to do?



Mauldin finished his cartoon at 4:15 (EST)

#### The sources

The accounts in the preceding narrative were drawn from the following sources:

**MERRIMAN SMITH:** "The Murder of the Young President," eyewitness story published November 23 and distributed as a pamphlet by United Press International.

**MALCOLM KILDUFF:** round-table broadcast by station WINS, New York, and the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, published as "The Murder of a President," in the New York Post, December 30-January 3.

**JACK BELL:** story distributed by The Associated Press on November 22; AP Log, November 20-26.

**ROBERT E. BASKIN:** Dallas Morning News, November 23.

**BOB JACKSON:** story distributed by The Associated Press, November 22.

**RONNIE DUGGER:** "The Last Voyage of Mr. Kennedy," The Texas Observer, November 29.

**JERRY TER HORST:** WINS broadcast.

**TOM WICKER:** Times Talk (New York Times house publication), December.

**ROBERT DONOVAN:** WINS broadcast.

**SID DAVIS:** WINS broadcast.

**TOM KIRKLAND:** Denton (Texas) Record-Chronicle, quoted in *Editor & Publisher*, November 30.

# What was seen and read

## Television: a transformation

*The following article, under the title "From Clown to Hero," appeared in the New York magazine of the New York Herald Tribune on December 15, 1963. John Horn is the Tribune's television reviewer.*

By JOHN HORN

The three shots on Main and Elm Streets, Dallas, that altered the course of American history also revolutionized the shape and content of American television for four tragic and tumultuous days.

From a frivolous and often inane jester and an urgent, wheedling hawker, TV was transformed instantly to a swift recorder of stunning deeds and sorrowful rites, to electronic transportation that took all of America to scenes of infamy and miscarriage of justice in Dallas and of melancholy pomp and circumstance in Washington.

The sad journey of the slain President to his resting place, the grace and gallantry of his bereaved widow, the ceremonies of final farewell, the on-camera slaying of the suspected assassin — these staggering events were etched into minds and hearts of an America that was a television eyewitness.

The critical assaults on television's banality, frivolity, and hucksterism are often well deserved, but how can one dismiss as inconsequential or worthless a medium that is capable of spanning utter triviality to solemn magnificence?

The fact is that almost everyone underestimates television. Even television itself — specifically the three networks that dominate the medium with their owned stations, alliances with hundreds of affiliates, and national news-gathering organizations — tends to minimize its importance and public-service achievements.

Embarrassment is part of it. Television's finest hours come when normal standards and operations — the overwhelming predominance of entertainment

programs and full sponsorship — are scuttled. Of necessity there must be mixed feelings when one's great moments are made possible only by repudiation of one's everyday values.

There is also the matter of responsibility. Recognition and acknowledgment of one's duties make clear one's responsibilities. Networks, which are not licensed as are stations to serve "the public interest, convenience and necessity," have kept the area of responsibilities understandably nebulous. For at a time like the solemn days following President's Kennedy's assassination, the networks remain alone, without advertisers or stations, to bear the enormous costs of news coverage. Not spelling out duties gives the networks latitude in deciding the method and length of such coverage.

The ambiguity often leads to confusion, with private prudence reining public-service eagerness. Such must have been the case on the first night of assassination coverage. With the biggest story of their lives on their hands, the New York stations of CBS and NBC reacted strangely. WCBS-TV, normally on the air all night with movies, signed off before midnight. WNBC-TV was off the air by 1 a.m., about two hours before its normal signoff. WABC-TV, like other ABC-owned stations, elected to stay on the air all night.

After that one lapse, WCBS-TV returned to continuous telecasting the next day and through the long weekend with special news programs. And WABC-TV went to earlier than normal signoff.

Hesitation and uncertainty are bound to be the consequences of unclear policy in the face of enormous expenditures. Public-interest news coverage is expensive. It is estimated that the four-day coverage of Presidential tragedy ran the three networks more than \$3 million in direct spending and ten times that in advertising-revenue loss.

For the public, there was no question about what was appropriate action. Television offers it the unique opportunity of being on the scene of action.

The night before the funeral NBC-TV, remaining on the air through the night, recorded for America a memorable self-portrait in mourning — equal to

Mr. Lincoln's train home to Springfield — by keeping cameras on the silent hundreds of thousands, both humble and great, as they shuffled silently past the bier in the Capitol rotunda. Through television, a hundred million more Americans were able to pay their respects there too...

Television has played a great national role. In one man's opinion, television has been a cohesive factor, perhaps the most important one, in unifying the postwar United States. By dissolving distance, it helped eliminate mid-country pockets of isolationism that once seemed so far from both oceans and from Europe and Asia. It broke down the social isolationism of the South, where Negroes and whites now appear and perform together in all living rooms as a matter of TV routine. Southern whites once protested such "Northern" behavior.

Television bound the country with common laughter at the programs of Milton Berle, Lucille Ball and other comedians. It also bound Americans through more serious concerns — the Presidential conventions and elections, the Presidential debates of 1960, the orbital flights of U. S. astronauts, and this November's funeral.

Those who have laughed and wept together in common cause are a nation....

The nation has become a family through the public eye of television.

Television did not set out to accomplish this. At the beginning, all that the three big broadcasting organizations — ABC, CBS and NBC — wanted to do was to mold television more or less in the image of radio. They succeeded. Investing heavily, they rapidly established transcontinental network television....

The problem remains: How can television reconcile its schizophrenic extremes?

It's not enough that the medium finally comes through in a pinch. The great expense is always a deterrent. Can't advertisers and stations, which use the air no less, somehow share extraordinary network news-coverage costs?

The schedule is so stabilized by film, tape, and sold time that it becomes increasingly difficult to pre-empt existing programs for live news coverage. Can the schedule somehow be loosened so as to encourage live public-service coverage?

In prime time, the networks' domain, news and information programs get a one-twenty-fifth share. The rest is entertainment. Can't networks do something about filling this reality gap?

Since the quiz scandals, television has been much concerned with image. It now has two: a generally amusing idler and a sometime national hero. Which will it cultivate?

### A few sour notes

...we sent a group of buyers into the office Saturday morning to spot check and see if all stations and newspapers curtailed commercials. To our amazement, about 10% of the radio stations began commercial broadcasting early Saturday morning!...most of the stations that did run commercials were in small markets with small wattage; but one got the immediate feeling that they were small in many, many more ways...the networks, which are *not* licensed by the government, knew instantly what to do, but certain radio stations, granted the right to broadcast by the government, didn't have the courtesy to respect the government.—Herbert D. Maneloveg in *Advertising Age*, December 9, 1963.

At the moment that the broadcasters were basking in the warmth of deserved praise, they received the disappointing word. Theirs was to be a bigger sacrifice than they had anticipated. A number of the most important national purchasers of spot announcements elected to make a saving on advertising that was canceled during the three and a half days of emergency coverage. Instead of allowing the spots to be rescheduled at a later date, as had been the custom in previous public service contingencies, they decided to ask for credit....As of this writing, Pan American Airways is the sole concern to express maximum appreciation of broadcasting's public service; it told TV stations to consider its advertising as having been run....—Jack Gould in *The New York Times*, December 8, 1963.

One other sour note...was the inept use of the interview. For years city editors have been sending out reporters and photographers to interview people who have lost members of their families, and there may have been some slight justification for it when newspapers were fighting each other for circulation. But that was yesterday, and television has now enabled millions to see, in all its useless insensitivity, what only working newspaper people have seen for years. Thus it was shocking and incomprehensible to many viewers that a television reporter should put a microphone before the widow of the slain Dallas policeman and ask her, "Well how do you feel now, Mrs. Tippett?"...Similarly, the man-in-the-street interviews, certainly an outworn and unnecessary form of journalism, were only embarrassing and served no reasonable purpose. The man in the street obviously felt just the way the man sitting before his television screen was feeling.—John Tebbel, in "The Story," *The Quill*, January, 1964.

## Newspapers: hunger for print

More sharply than any previous series of events, the occurrences of November 22 to 25 revealed the consciousness of newspapers of their changing role, from sole purveyors of news to one of many. During the two periods when news broke without warning, instinct and tradition dictated the response: On Friday, November 22, newspapers issued as many as eight "extras." On Sunday, when Lee H. Oswald was shot, energetic papers reactivated themselves early to issue Sunday afternoon and evening extras.

When there was time for reflection, more conscious choices were made. The central question was: Should newspapers accept the idea that they were (as *Saturday Review* put it) "hopelessly outflanked" by tele-

vision? Many papers agreed to the extent of dropping any pretense that they were announcing anything new. Instead, they sought novelty of display, sometimes with an eye to souvenir values. But a significant number kept to their traditional function of providing a straight record.

To the public, such distinctions appeared to make little difference. Figures for street sales across the country show that the public's addiction to television over the week end was matched by its hunger for printed matter. Many papers set all-time sales records. To cite only one example: *The New York Times* on November 26 sold 1,089,000 papers—nearly 400,000 over its normal sales.

On the pages following are reproduced front pages of newspapers from the several phases of the weekend's events, chosen as representative of different schools of thought, and as an index of the newspapers' changing functions.



Saturday morning: Texas and Massachusetts



Saturday afternoon: Miami front page



Madison would not defer feature on quints



Sunday morning: formally balanced page . . .



. . . a similar thought in Minneapolis



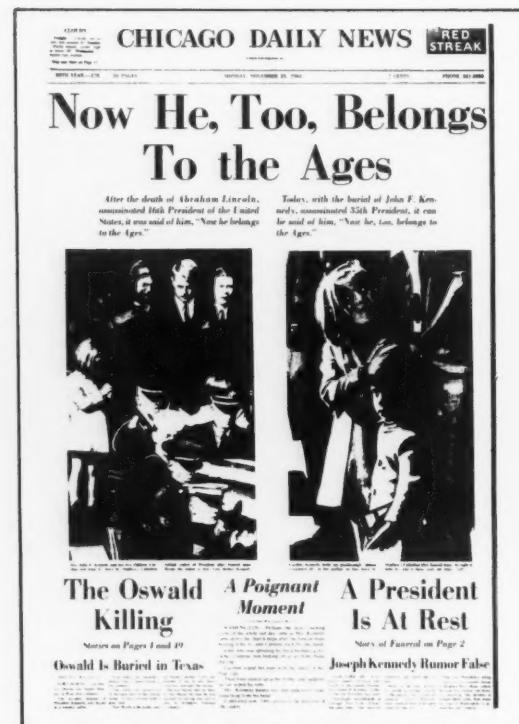
Sunday afternoon: an extra in Milwaukee



Monday morning: Tribune emphasized reaction



Monday afternoon: Some used the salute . . .



. . . the News relegated it to the second page



Tuesday morning: Baltimore Sun lingered . . .



. . . the Nashville Tennessean hurried on



Tuesday afternoon: resumption of business



Memorial: one of many commemorative editions

## Magazines: good luck and bad

When the news broke on Friday afternoon, all three of the major news magazines had issues almost ready to close. These magazines made over whole sections—in some cases interrupting press runs to add late developments—and still reached most of their readers on time.

In spite of the technical problems characteristic of magazines—writing copy to exact measurements, printing far away from the editorial offices, the pressure of interrelated deadlines—the magazines demonstrated by this performance that they were in many ways more flexible than most Sunday newspapers.

*U.S. News and World Report*, with a Friday deadline for its December 2 issue, had to start over. *Time* and *Newsweek*, planning press runs for 6 a.m. Sunday, had less than 40 hours to remake. The staffs produced 20 pages of entirely new copy for *Newsweek* and 17 for *Time*.

Sunday afternoon both *Time* and *Newsweek* stopped their presses twice to replate — once to insert the story of the shooting of Lee Oswald; again to add the *Dallas Morning News* picture of Jack Ruby firing the shot.

The reporting in the three weeklies was respectful and thorough, with few lapses in fact or taste. One exception was *Times* "publisher's page," which remembered the President as its "No. 1 subscriber," quoting many of his remarks about the magazine. By contrast, *Newsweek* quoted thirteen lines from Walt Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" — written after Lincoln's assassination in 1865.

*Life* rushed through a new 20-page section, including Theodore H. White's tribute to the President and the remarkable picture series that showed, second by second, what happened in the President's automobile.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, with a December 14 issue partly printed, stopped its presses and planned a new issue. Authors, including former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Stewart Alsop, and Ralph McGill, wrote and delivered major articles in two days or less.

The special problems of the bi-weekly *Look* were complicated by the approaching Thanksgiving holiday. A pre-dated December 3 issue, with a happy cover photograph of the President and his son, was already on the newsstands. The issue dated December 17, printed much earlier than usual because of the

holiday, was being distributed, with an article entitled "Kennedy Could Lose" announced on the cover. *Look* sent paste-over labels to distributors to blot out the cover reference, then set to work remaking its December 31 issue. The new issue included memorial material with traces remaining of a White House Christmas story scheduled earlier.

*Parade*, the Sunday magazine distributed with seventy-three newspapers, was similarly embarrassed by an article entitled, "Is Jackie Kennedy Tired of the White House?" (the answer was no) in its December 1 issue, printed three weeks in advance. All of the 13,000,000 copies had been distributed. *Parade*'s staff worked through the week end to remake the issue, then ran off 6,000,000 new copies for distribution to newspapers near the printing plants in Philadelphia, Louisville, and St. Louis. Other newspapers were asked to withdraw the issue.

In general, magazines of current affairs came through a period of potential embarrassment with only minimum distress. It may be worth noting that the two articles that could have been considered out of line were speculative—a warning once again of the hazards of early deadlines and betting on imponderables.

#### Publisher's pages: Time and Newsweek

Life's exclusive:  
film sequence in  
issue of November 29



*An extraordinarily complex man—gracious, tough, shrewd—he will be missed in his books.*

## THE NEW PRESIDENT

See STYLING ALSO



Post's industry:  
part of 29 pages of coverage  
in December 14 issue

Look's  
misfortune:  
December 17



## U.S. News's prophecies: instant vision



# Journalism's role: unresolved issues

## Questions of fact

Francis T. Leary writes a "Memo from the M.E." that is distributed with the weekly *U.P.I. Reporter*. In the issue dated December 5, he wrote as follows:

One of the harassments of covering the tragedy in Dallas was a flood of erroneous reports and rumors, some of which were printed and/or broadcast.

Our Dallas and New York staffs were subjected to this spurious barrage but stood firm, investigated each rumor and circulated nothing erroneous.

I suppose the rumor phase of the coverage will be fair game for the critics of the press and, regrettably, backwash to some extent on newspapers and broadcasters alike.

The most widely distributed false reports were credited to AP—that Lyndon Johnson "was apparently shot but able to walk to a hospital," and that a Secret Service agent as well as a policeman had been shot and killed in Dallas. Another rumor circulated was that Johnson had suffered a heart attack.

The day after Jack Ruby killed Lee Harvey Oswald we received but did not carry rumors in Bonn, Springfield, Ill., Dallas, Honolulu, San Francisco and other cities that Ruby had (1) hanged himself (2) been shot (3) poisoned (4) stabbed. All easily scotched.

Another rumor, which persisted for two days, was that Joe Kennedy, Sr., had died. This rumor spread throughout the world although his activities at the time, including auto rides and swimming, were well publicized by U.P.I. . . .

This complaint, sharply at variance with the tone of forbearance that muted most competitive recriminations, makes charges with serious implications. Two questions in particular come to the fore: Was The Associated Press indeed responsible for passing on rumors and inaccuracies? Was UPI, conversely, blameless?

The charges may fall into perspective in the light of the following analysis, prepared for the *Review* by a non-partisan, Donald H. Webster of CBS News:

A study of the "A" wire copy of both services yields the following conclusions:

Despite the massive work required, inconveniences in the location of the story, and the understandable pressures, both wire services did an extremely creditable job.

Initial word that something was wrong in Dallas came from UPI between five and six minutes ahead of AP—partly because the AP man in the Presidential pool car could not get the radio telephone. By the end of the first hour, however, AP had transmitted a greater variety of copy and was slightly ahead on later important breaks in the story.

UPI fed clearer, cleaner copy, ready to be rushed from the machines and across the copy desk virtually without editing. AP's initial coverage seemed a bewildering series of new leads, inserts, sidebars, and corrections.

AP showed greater willingness or ability to switch quickly to points other than Dallas. The service did so without losing any important facts from Dallas; at the end of three hours it had transmitted considerably more information than its competitor.

UPI was better organized in the use of the terms "flash," "bulletin" and "urgent." UPI used them more selectively at a time when every

client in the country was aware of the story and was watching its wire machines almost continuously anyway.

Both services, understandably, made errors. Perhaps the greatest single mistake was made by AP at 2:18 when it said "THERE WAS AN UNCONFIRMED REPORT THAT VICE PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON HAD BEEN WOUNDED SLIGHTLY. A SPECTATOR SAID HE SAW JOHNSON WALK INTO THE HOSPITAL HOLDING HIS ARM." (This wording should be compared with the quotation in the fourth paragraph of Mr. Leary's remarks above. —ED.)

Then at 2:24 an AP bulletin said "MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON SAID AFTER A VISIT TO THE EMERGENCY OPERATING ROOM TODAY THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT 'IS FINE.' SHE WAS TAKEN INTO ANOTHER FIRST FLOOR ROOM WHERE JOHNSON ORIGINALLY HAD GONE. ASKED IF HER HUSBAND ALSO HAD BEEN WOUNDED, SHE SHOOK HER HEAD NEGATIVELY." If the third sentence lessened the confusion, the lead sentence certainly increased it.

A clear-cut correction of the information did not come until 2:58, but into the evening many people continued to repeat AP's rumor that Johnson was injured.

The biggest rumor of the period was the one that the President's father was dead. There is nothing in the copy of either service to indicate that they contributed to the rumor. But a Hyannis Port story sent (from New York) at 3:08 was filled with misinformation about the elder Kennedys — notably, that the father had been notified (which was wrong) and that the "President's mother was to leave immediately for Dallas to be at the bedside of the President."

UPI was not without its errors, but there were none on the scale of the rumor of an injury to President Johnson. At 2:28, UPI quoted Senator Yarborough as saying that he saw the President's lips moving "at a normal rate of speed" on the way to the hospital.

There was confusion over the murder weapon and its caliber. At first AP identified it as a .30-.30 rifle, then later quoted a secret service man as saying it was a "high powered Army or Japanese rifle of about .25 caliber." UPI meanwhile called it a "German-made" rifle, "a 7.65 Mauser." It turned out to be of Italian manufacture.

In a story of this magnitude, errors such as this seem small indeed. This is only indicative of the generally accurate reporting job both services gave to the tragic events.

The rumors about Johnson were, as it happened, the only transmitted ones that had bearing on the transfer of power. The tales of the deaths of others seem to be the inevitable accompaniment of the death of the famous. After Franklin D. Roosevelt died there was a widespread report that Jack Dempsey was dead (based, it later turned out, on the mis-

reading of a sign closing his restaurant for the day).

Neither of the wire services transmitted the concurrent rumor that President Johnson had had a heart attack.

Should the AP have transmitted the report on the wounding? A negative answer seems clear in retrospect; the label "unconfirmed report" hardly removes the possible impact of such an item on a country already shaken. Obviously, though, the situation at 2:18 p.m. on November 22 was different: There had been no clear-cut word on Johnson since his arrival at the hospital. Even the word of an anonymous spectator who had seen Johnson enter the hospital must have seemed preferable to no word at all.

There must also be recognized the peculiar circumstances of an emergency of this type, when the function of a wire service changes: No longer is it merely sending publishable news stories; it tends to become, under stress, a conveyer belt of whatever can be seized on. (Note, for comparison, the familiar phenomenon of rumors and "unconfirmed reports" during World War II.) The greater the stress, the more raw material replaces form. It was a reaffirmation of the skill of Merriman Smith of UPI that he dictated a story from the Presidential pool car and the hospital that fell into publishable form.

It is worth remembering, in comparing this reporting with that of other events, that the news on November 22 was almost unmanaged. In contrast to the death of Roosevelt, which was announced by a simultaneous phone call to three wire services from the White House, in this instance government information was almost paralyzed. It did not begin to feed anything to the news processes until more than half an hour after the shooting, and offered no formal announcements for more than an hour. Possibly the only conscious government decision was that of the new President to withhold the news of the death until he had left the hospital for the airport.

The net effect was that the reporters — both the upper-echelon members of the White House corps and the locals — had to cover the story like a natural catastrophe.

Considering the huge opportunities for error, the repercussions from the coverage of that day have been minor. Writers in liberal magazines have combed the early reports for contradictions that would tend to suggest assassins other than Lee H. Oswald. These so far have turned up nothing that could not just as easily be explained by the transmission-belt nature of reporting on November 22. The accuracy and pertinence of many such points will have to remain unresolved until such time as the information held by investigating agencies is released to the public.

## Questions of rights

Possibly the most serious problem focused by the events of November 22 to 25 is one that has been with journalism before, but never before in circumstances so acute. It is the question of what can be done about the mob that reporters and technicians become when they settle on the locus of a story. Such flocks were known in pre-television days, but television, adding not only more bodies but paraphernalia, has aggravated the situation. The journalistic mob of the 1950's and 1960's is an awesome force—as demonstrated in Little Rock, on Nikita Khruschev's tour, at the University of Mississippi, on many Presidential travels, and, most recently, in Dallas.

There are two obvious adverse effects:

1. The news being covered changes in the presence of the mob; the principals become conscious of being on stage; action is accentuated; news is fragmented.
2. The mob can interfere with other processes taking place in the public interest.

A great deal has been written on the effects of the presence of journalists in the Dallas police station. Bar Associations, the American Civil Liberties Union, and a few journalists all hold the demands of journalism responsible to a degree not only for foreclosures of Lee H. Oswald's civil rights, but for forcing the police to provide the setting for the murder. On the other side, such commentators as Newton N. Minow have emphasized the need of the public for any information in an emergency. A few in the television industry have credited the detailed coverage of Oswald with preventing possible disorder.

Journalists are no doubt familiar with the main outlines of these arguments, and with the suggestions that have been made of remedies on the part of the press such as Herbert Brucker's suggestion in *Saturday Review* for more formal "pool" arrangements.

Such discussions have difficulty discovering the precise line of responsibility between public officials and the press. Journalism in the past has found it difficult to imagine itself, in relation to government, as other than a wiry little fellow taking on the brute of government. In such circumstances, the little fellow must be the aggressor. But it may be an uncalculated consequence of the efforts for "freedom of information" in the last few years that the situation has been reversed. Is a brute press now able to run over the requirements of government, notably when great national organizations are taking on local officials?

This is a note that turns up by indirection in a memorandum received by the *Review* from Victor F.

Robertson, of the news staff of WFAA, Dallas. He writes, in part:

The Dallas Police Department was cooperative with reporters—not just because it was eager for publicity, or was an admirer of the news media; it was the direct result of the public policy of the city of Dallas.

Let me cite an example: Some months ago, two teen-aged girls ran a car over the curb of a downtown street, smashed into a light standard, and seriously injured a pedestrian. A newspaper photographer was taking pictures, including pictures of the girls, when he was reprimanded by a patrolman who felt that taking pictures of juveniles is not good journalism. The repercussions were immediate. The entire department received a memorandum pointing out clearly that it was not the judge of press prerogatives or responsibilities. The public policy of the city is one of cooperation with the news media.

It has been suggested that, faced with special circumstances, the city might have been forgiven had it temporarily suspended its policy. The police department wanted to do just that. But the final decision was based on a belief that a public policy is not an on-again-off-again proposition.

Oswald had been in custody but a short time when the city began to receive telephone calls from all over the world (half a dozen from Australia alone) demanding assurance that Oswald was really the assassin, not just a fall guy. As time wore on, the deluge of questions grew heavier, especially on whether Oswald was not being beaten into some sort of confession.

As a result, the police department released information designed to assure the world that Oswald was indeed the assassin. The police were ordered to give the world an opportunity to see, through live television, that Oswald had not been beaten. In fact, the entire course of the investigation was hampered severely by the pressures. The important fact here is that freedom of information was considered vital.

Obviously, something went wrong. Jack Ruby managed to find a place among the press corps. Clearly, some police officer failed to keep Ruby out. But it is also clear that the members of the press did no better. And I can't help but wonder if we haven't been grossly unfair in hurling criticism at the Dallas Police Department when we did little or nothing to help them successfully execute the policy that was so advantageous to us.

The implication is, of course, that just as the particular methods of the press in this situation were pre-determined, so was the policy of acceding to journalists' demands. Jack Gould, in defending the journalists in *The New York Times*, observed correctly that a heterogeneous collection of reporters "cannot be expected to draft a code of behavior amid

hectic working problems." The most that can be expected is a certain degree of civility and cooperation among them—of the type that was most emphatically in evidence on the afternoon of November 22.

One network executive has confessed to an impulse, when he heard the statements of Dallas officials condemning Oswald, to cut them off the air. He resisted the impulse, he says, because he knew the competition would continue to carry the statements.

There are striking parallels, in this difficulty of defining responsibility, between the Oswald case and that of Bruno Hauptmann. That case antedated television, but the same conflict between the processes of justice and the hunger for information was present. In his 1957 book, *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, Wilbur Schramm quotes an address by Walter Lippmann on the Hauptmann case to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1936 that has a bearing on the Oswald case:

We are concerned with a situation spectacularly illustrated in this case, but typical of most celebrated criminal cases in the United States, which may be described by saying that there are two processes of justice, the one official, the other popular. They are carried on side by side, the one in courts of law, the other in the press, over the radio, on the screen, at public meetings—and at every turn this irregular popular process interferes with, distorts and undermines the effectiveness of the law and the people's confidence in it.

Because there are two pursuits of the criminal, two trials and two verdicts—the one supposed to be based on the law and a thousand years of accumulated experience, the other totally irresponsible—the self-appointed judges and jurymen and advocates for the prosecution and defense get in the way of the officers of the law, and the official verdict becomes confused with the popular verdict, often in the court itself, almost always in the public mind.

We can examine the problems best, I think, by examining a few concrete instances. Hauptmann was arrested on September 20, 1934, and within a week there was a headline in a New York paper saying that "clues build iron-clad case against Bruno, police claim," and a few days later it announced that "twelve men and women selected at random" by a reporter had decided, according to the headline: "Bruno guilty but had aids, verdict of man in street."

Here we find that the police, unless the newspaper was lying, which I doubt, made an appeal to the public to believe their evidence before that evidence had been submitted to a court of law. That was an interference by the police with the lawful process of justice. It is for the jury to determine whether a case is "iron-clad," and since juries have to be selected from the newspaper-reading public, such a positive statement on the authority of the police is deeply prejudicial. I do not for a

### The "assassin": schools of thought



## ASSASSIN NAMED

**The New York Times.** LATE CITY EDITION

PRESIDENT'S ASSASSIN SHOT TO DEATH  
IN JAIL CORRIDOR BY A DALLAS CITIZEN;  
GRIEVING THRONGS VIEW KENNEDY BIER

**EXTRA** SATURDAY  
RACING Los Angeles Times **FINAL**

## ASSASSIN NAMED Pro-Castro Marxist Accused

**Chicago Tribune**  
ACCUSED ASSASSIN SLAIN

**EXTRA** FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM **EXTRA**

## SUSPECT OSWALD SLAIN IN DALLAS

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM MORNING

*City Hall Shooting Scene*

## JFK ASSASSIN SLAIN

moment think that Hauptmann was innocent. But that does not alter the fact that he had a right to be tried before a jury and to be tried nowhere else. Because he was tried in two places at once, thousands of persons came to believe that he was not tried fairly. But in the administration of justice it is of the highest importance not only that the right verdict should be reached but that the people should believe that it has been reached dispassionately.

In the two headlines I have cited, and you will recognize them as being by no means exceptional, we see the police rendering a verdict on their own evidence and a newspaper establishing a verdict among the potential jurors...

It will be said at once that in arguing that we must look to the police and the bench and the bar to see that criminal cases are tried only before the regular tribunal, I have failed to take account of the fact that these public officials are dependent on public favor, and that they would have to be heroes to refuse to let these cases be exploited by the press.

This is where we as professional newspaper men have our primary responsibility. Hitherto we have generally taken the attitude that if we refrained from participating in the worst of it, we had done our full duty. I believe that we must now recognize that this is not our full duty. It is our duty, I believe, to make it plain to the regular officers of the law that we expect them to administer justice in an orderly way, that we shall attack them if they do not, and that we shall defend them if they do.

This, of course, is only part of the solution, because the problems of mob coverage involve more than pressure on legal problems. There is the more troublesome problem of the effect of the crush of observers on the thing observed.

Here, certainly, the trend of opinion seems to be toward some form of self-regulation. Yet the press mob has been—whatever its faults—a democracy in which a huge news agency has no more privileges than the smallest weekly. Must democracy give way to order? If so, who within journalism shall impose order?

No one in journalism has yet answered this question completely satisfactorily. The search for the answer must be a preoccupation of the profession in the months ahead.

UPI APR 9 1968  
CORRECTION:  
IN NIGHT LEAD MRS. OSVALD WASHINGTON (ASGN) 1ST PG READ IT: PRESIDENT KENNEDY, WHOM HE IS ALLEGED TO HAVE KILLED (INSTEAD OF KILLED).  
IN 5TH PG READ IT: HIS NATIVE COUNTRY AND HIS ALLEGED VICTIM.  
(INSERTING ALLEGED).  
UPI WASHINGTON.  
WON400ES 2/5

Still a problem: UPI correction in February

## Questions of performance

The bursts of violence on November 22 and 24, 1963, momentarily cast American society in an unaccustomed light. Journalism, a part and a voice of that society, could be seen in ways impossible under ordinary circumstances.

It is fruitless to try—as have some commentators—to trace a direct line from, say, violent television programs or abusive newspaper editorials to the bullets in Dallas. It would seem more useful to use the unique illumination to discover what was revealed about journalism in society—most of all, the things journalism does not yet know well enough about its role. What follows is, in effect, an informal agenda:

1. What is the role of journalism—particularly television journalism—in preserving order and insuring peaceful change? The fact that there were no civil disturbances after the assassination was offered by some television spokesmen as their justification and, indeed, their triumph. It is true that television seemed to place conscious emphasis on peaceable succession. Yet how great was this achievement? Americans have not been known to fight over a change in government—not, at least, since 1861.

Is it possible that the reverse was true, as a few critics have charged—that television, bearing the visual symbols of death into the home, caused this change of government to strike deeper than any before? Would there be a chance, in another national emergency, that complete devotion to the one subject could lead to a type of public paralysis? The question of the effects of such unrelieved concentration needs study.

2. Can journalism do anything more on its own to avoid possible infringements on individual rights? One answer is, of course, Walter Lippmann's—that journalism should work harder to guarantee performance by public officials. But does not the question also require a reappraisal of journalism's attitude toward its best-organized crusade of the postwar years—freedom of information? Is it time to move beyond annual reports deplored abuses by government and exerting pressure for the *journalist's* right to know?

Should not the drive for freedom of information now develop in two directions—the one enforcing the right of the public to know the public business, the other designed to guarantee individual members of the public their rights?

3. Cannot journalism develop firmer standards guaranteeing informal rights of privacy? Television was rightly taken to task for intrusions that added nothing to the viewer's store of information—for ex-

ample, the interminable interview with the Tippitt family, the descent of the police-station mob on Jack Ruby's sobbing, crippled sister, and the innumerable man-on-the-street interviews. The Toledo *Blade* put it well: "The right to be alone, the late Justice Brandeis once stated, is the most comprehensive of rights, and the right most valued by civilized man. And even when momentous events inevitably drag individuals into the public eye, there are moments of terrible personal grief that should not be paraded for



the satisfaction of the morbidly curious." And this, it could be added, might apply, in the death of a President, to the passerby as well as to those who suffered personal loss.

4. Can anything be done to relieve tension and accommodate points of view between national and local journalism? Felix McKnight, editor of the *Dallas Times-Herald*, wrote the following in the *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

In the name of God why would some come into a torn town, unsheathe the hatchets, dredge up patently false filth and garnish it with Texas legends and cliches off second-rate nightclub circuits? . . . The indictment of an American city by a few, drags American journalism to gutter stature. . . . The offenders — some newspapers, magazines, and the networks who snatched poisonous darts from the context and rekindled fires of hatred from the death of a man who loathed it — need agonizing self-examination.

The charge is not to be taken lightly, even when it comes from an interested source. There were indeed many inquiries into the soul of Dallas, many of them (notably, Drew Pearson's) executed hastily and responding to the demand for placing blame. Perhaps one help would be a re-examination of a practice

that has grown by leaps in the age of the jet — the loading of reporters, prepared or not, on an airplane bound to the place where news is breaking. One result can be hasty national reporting, a disservice to the locality and the nation alike.

Yet it is clear from past experience that the nation cannot depend entirely on local organs as a source of news. A fruitful precedent was the cooperation of national network reporters and reporters from their local affiliates in the Dallas area. Could more such systematic attempts to ensure cooperation result in better reporting to the nation — as well as letting fresh air into insular communities?

5. Should not the assassination spur a re-examination of the level of political discourse inspired or transmitted by journalism? This question brings two answers, exemplified by the two Dallas newspapers. *The News* (as reported by Jack Langguth in *The New York Times* of January 10) has continued its policy on letters to the editor as before. Whatever readers write, the *News* suggests, the paper is not too proud to print (barring religious or racial calumny). *The Times-Herald*, on the other hand, has imposed a new policy of restricting the scope of attacks on political figures. "We had been guilty before of running letters that try to smear everything and everybody," said A. C. Greene, chief of the editorial page. *The Houston Chronicle*, under William P. Steven, is also following a selective policy. (On November 26, the policy was discarded for one day to give a true cross-section; one was a letter from a Texas University student written before the assassination telling Steven "why don't you go home you [profanity deleted] Yankee!").

To follow such a selective policy without narrowing the range of comment and dissent is not easily accomplished. It could be used as an excuse, by some newspapers, to dilute editorials and letters columns already bland. Yet there is a reasonable line to draw — one that has not always been drawn in American journalism. It is perhaps best summed up in the word "civility" — the type of discourse that keeps in mind that its subject is human, even when he is in error.

7. Finally, journalism might well remember the reasons it received such widespread praise for assassination coverage — and what was lacking in those few instances when it was criticized. The same words seem to turn up time and again in the encomiums — dignity, maturity, thoroughness, unselfishness. In the complaints, on the contrary, there is condemnation of indignities. Perhaps a good share of journalism's virtues in this case was imposed by the solemnity of the events; but there is also evidence that American journalism is developing a firmness of style, a sureness in taste that will enhance its reputation and value.

# JFK to LBJ: paradoxes of change

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Two hours after the assassination of President Kennedy an important subcabinet officer back in Washington received word from the news ticker that a local law enforcer in Dallas was telling the press that the killing was part of an international conspiracy, the Texas statesman apparently unaware either of the facts or of the awesome consequences of what he was saying. The instant he learned this, the Washington man snatched the phone on his desk and then, the phone in midair and his face blank, he froze. Slowly he put the phone back on its cradle. With a sad and distant expression, he told a visitor, "It's funny, but two hours ago there was no question exactly whom I'd call and know this would be taken care of. Now I'm not so sure."

Much of official Washington went through something like this. The great inverted tree of power branching out from a President is often diagrammed in civics books with Cabinet departments represented by neat squares angled into the main trunk. The flow of real power does not necessarily follow the official charts, but follows the private lines of personal relationships that make certain men, some with only the vaguest titles, important sources of power, policy, and information. The stronger a President and the more acute his taste for personal management, the greater the significance of his personal relations.

When John F. Kennedy died, his personal lines of power disappeared and new lines came slowly into focus. For the news community of Washington there was parallel confusion and adjustment. It is the informal power structure that is important to reporters, who need to know the nature and priorities of official thinking, or who have to work on crucial pressure

points for the release of blocked information or the confirmation of hypotheses. The abrupt change in the presidency started a change in news gathering. These changes are still going on.

The changes in the personality and sources of news were further complicated by the late President's revolution in projecting the President and his ideas to the general public.

With the succession of Lyndon Johnson, we have a double paradox in presidential press relations. John Kennedy, more than any other President in history, was a student and a genuine hobbyist on the subject of the printed press. Yet he turned to television as his primary medium. Lyndon Johnson, like most classic examples of Congressional Man, is devoted to the spoken rather than to the written word. Yet he has turned back to the printed press. This reversion is subject to change, of course, but in the first weeks of the Johnson Administration the shift was dramatic.

John Kennedy's interest in the press was a real and personal one. Naturally, he never let his expertise go unused in solving his political problems, but his interest was not cynical. Like most hobbyists, he spent a certain amount of time cursing the object of his addiction but he always went back.

Kennedy seemed to read every magazine and newspaper in sight, including the *New York Herald Tribune*, which he officially banished but always unofficially read. What he didn't read himself he learned through memoranda from his staff, and this enormous intake ranged from learned journals to popular magazines.

The chief result of the President's reputation for ingesting journals was that everyone in his power structure also read. It helps to know what the boss is thinking about, so the entire Federal Establishment

read *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Washington Evening Star*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*, looking for things that might involve them and might have caught the President's eye. There was an unprecedented system of indirect communication with the President through the news columns. Members of Congress, journalists, and private citizens were able to get presidential attention this way even when they could not get by the White House staff.

The presidential reading had another effect. Everyone in the Establishment spoke with greater restraint, because whatever they told an interviewer might get into print and be read by the President. In Washington anything said by a political person, including what he mutters as he puts on his snow chains, might end up in print; consequently, there was remarkable unanimity of expression by the official family. Most of this was based on genuine unanimity of ideas, but some of it came from a consciousness of the sharp eye in the White House conning the news columns or that more likely repository of candid end-of-the-evening remarks, the women's pages. The sharp eye could be followed by a sharp tongue.

The Kennedy interest was genuine and his knowledge sound. He could press Richard Rovere on details of articles in *The New Yorker* in a way no one could fake.

On another occasion, when he was flying to the Vienna conference with Khrushchev, a time hardly conducive to low-level press agency, John Kennedy came back for a moment's relaxation with the pool correspondent on his flight. The correspondent had prepared himself for just such a lucky moment with a mental list of questions. But when Kennedy lowered himself into the seat he asked the correspondent, "Why do you suppose Bill Lawrence left the *Times*?" William H. Lawrence had just left *The New York Times* for the American Broadcasting Company, and for five minutes John Kennedy discussed the problems of a correspondent's adjustment from the type-written to the broadcast word.

This is one reason Kennedy rang so true to so many politically hostile newspaper and magazine publishers. They couldn't resist the surefootedness of Kennedy's conversations about newspapers and magazines — and the President's careful preparation on his guest's particular publication.

So what did John Kennedy do? He turned to television.

The live television press conference, held in a large auditorium, was John Kennedy's invention. So was the intimate year-end symposium with television correspondents. He did it, of course, because it was effective. The President of the United States, appearing

in the nation's living rooms talking with correspondents the public had come to recognize, was almost irresistible.

Furthermore, John Kennedy was good at it. Paradoxically, he was not a spellbinder or very good at creating emotion in public. But he chose his public words with precision and prudence and this, with his grasp of essence and detail, helped create that peculiar sense of loss felt with his death. There had grown subtly with the months of presidential sparring on television a feeling that he knew both what he was talking about and what he was not talking about, and that he could be trusted to understand the facts and make wise decisions. Lastly, television gave the President direct access to the public. For any Democratic President who knows that at election time or in a national fight with the business community the majority of newspapers will be against him, this was of enormous importance and John Kennedy knew it.

What does this precedent mean for the new President? Primarily, it placed an unfair burden on Lyndon Johnson to continue the press practices that were suited to the peculiar tastes and strengths of his predecessor.

Lyndon Johnson is plainly a different man and his relations with the press have been and will be different. Like most members of Congress, Johnson by habit talked and listened more than he read and wrote. This is not because Congress is filled with illiterates but because the job conspires to make even the most thoughtful man incapable of getting away twenty minutes to sign his letters, let alone write them himself. (If the laws of forgery were invoked every key staff person on Capitol Hill would disappear into a penitentiary.) Congressional Man can't possibly absorb his avalanche of constituents' mail or the thousand bills a year he votes on. He has a staff that does that for him and then fills him in with five-minute oral briefings, often given, literally, as the boss half-runs down the corridors toward the chamber for a vote. When he arrives at the chamber he obviously will have no time to read the amendments and their alterations, let alone to prepare an analysis, so he gets a 15-second oral fill-in by a functionary hired by his party or from a colleague. In his committees — if he has direct responsibility or personal interest — he listens to a mass of spoken words, which are later read only by correspondents and other masochists. If he has a job like Lyndon Johnson's old one in the Senate, he can no more do business with written words than could a lion tamer, and for about the same reasons.

And yet as Majority Leader, Johnson had to keep sorted in his head an enormous collection of facts

## WASHINGTON

and figures and personal histories, ready for instant recall and lightning rejoinder. He had to depend on a quick visceral rather than a cerebral reaction. On his official missions as Vice President he followed the same pattern, wanting to be briefed orally rather than by memoranda. His relations with the press traditionally have been personal and hortatory rather than cool and calculated. He seemed a man made for the red-eyed television camera.

So what did he do when he became President? He did not venture a televised news conference for more than two months, and then only on a reduced scale.

Some network executives were sufficiently worried to fly to Washington to urge the President to reinstate the big televised press conference. Some of the printed-word correspondents were resentful. Although they hated the cameras, as do most true believers, they missed the advance notices of the big conference. Some missed the special importance that television gave their questions. Quite aside from whatever hambone strain television brought out in the reporters, there was the real potency of having the President confronted with a question while the whole country watched, quite a different thing from a question posed in a small group with no one watching.

"We will do what comes naturally," Mr. Johnson told reporters in an informal gathering in his office last December. "Maybe it will be a meeting of this kind today; maybe a televised meeting tomorrow, with a coffee session the next day."

So it was that during a period of transition when "continuity" was the byword, the new President created a pause to permit himself to find methods of news dissemination appropriate to his own tastes.

The big televised press conference under Kennedy seemed to be an irreversible step in the evolution of presidential press relations, datum zero in our time being under Calvin Coolidge. Coolidge insisted on written questions ahead of time, producing, as Tom Wicker has written, "the deadliest bores of a deadly boring era in Washington." Herbert Hoover had a reputation for productive press relations but the great leap came with Franklin Roosevelt who called reporters into his office to joust, cajole, scold, and joke with the men who crowded around the edge of his desk. The FDR conferences reflected the special *elan* of that particular President but they were also the beginning of the steep curve of growth in the im-

portance of government and the public interest in it.

Each President properly fashions his news methods to his own personality, but all of them work within a framework of the rising level of education and sophistication in the American population. The Washington press corps has grown in size and quality in response to this — by Truman's time the conference had to be moved out of the President's office into the Indian Treaty Room in the great stone pile of the Executive Building next door. Here some of the intimacy began to disappear, but men were still only a few feet from the President and the continuing inhibition on direct quotation left the President somewhat relaxed. Dwight Eisenhower's press was even larger but he kept the same room, adding movie cameras that produced the feeling of shooting a mob scene in a Victorian sardine can. The television and radio tapes were edited before release; printed words, held back until "Thank you, Mr. President" started the footrace for the telephones, were still the prime conduit of the President's answers to the press.

When John Kennedy moved the conferences to the new State Department Auditorium it seemed an inevitable concession to the great growth in numbers of correspondents and the size of the national audience. When he made the television cameras and radio microphones live, it became a public performance devoid of the safety of editing, with correspondents in the role of supporting players. Of the 1,300 correspondents accredited to the White House (more than 200 of them foreign) from 200 to 400 attended the big conferences. The large numbers required a physical setting that made close personal contact impossible. The President stood on a stage and far away the correspondents had their questions picked up by special microphones aimed at them like machine guns. There were few follow-up questions and little continuity because it resembled a dialogue shouted over a canyon. The live cameras meant there was no retrieving an indiscreet or misconstrued remark. If television spread the President's words wider, it made them blander.

And yet it seemed — and still seems — an inevitable part of the new world of direct communication. More than any other single technique, the Kennedy press conferences gave the general public insight into the business of their government. For the first time in millions of living rooms there was some realistic hint of foreign affairs, legislative struggles, and administrative problems. It all came with an element of suspense because it was, in a way, a contest that was unpredictable. The whole nation (or at least 18,000,000 viewers) watched as the President came to bat and the reporters served up curves, floaters, and

beanballs. For reporters, including those who never wrote of any particular conference, it was instructive to watch the President, since they knew the unstated danger in many questions and could observe the President's handling. The big televised press conference is not a precise journalistic device but it is a major accomplishment in public political education. If it did nothing else, it at least caused more newspapers than ever to print the transcript or a substantial excerpt of it.

Many people had accepted the Kennedy conference as an established ritual. Yet on December 18 something appeared in the official transcript of President Johnson's press conference which had not been seen for many years.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I guess this ought to be OFF THE RECORD \*\*\* I do not like to start that, but . . .

So shortly after noon on December 18 there was a sudden reversal of thirty years to the style and setting of Franklin Roosevelt.

Two weeks earlier, on a Saturday, the White House regulars had appeared for a Salinger briefing and were unexpectedly swept into the President's office. "I told Pierre a little earlier in the morning I was going to buy coffee later in the day," the President told the stunned correspondents, "but I didn't really know how much coffee I was going to buy. He has more friends than I anticipated."

The immediate effect of the impromptu conference was to double the attendance at the two-a-day briefings given by the press secretary. Now there was not only a chance of seeing Pierre Salinger but of having coffee with the President. More than one editor, seeing the wire pictures of that first conference, wanted to know why his Washington correspondent wasn't there.

The Johnson office sessions have their disadvantages. They have been unannounced, as they have to be if 400 men and women are not to show up for coffee in the President's office. There is no careful preparation of questions, as is done in the better bureaus in town for an announced conference. Correspondents who concentrate on foreign affairs and on Congress, not being squatters in the White House lobby, do not take part in the questioning.

There are differences in the quality, as well as the form, of the two men's dealings with the press.

Journalism-cum-history was Kennedy's avocation. His original associations with newspapermen, largely East Coast, were more personal than political. "The Georgetown Journalists"—well-to-do newspapermen like Rowland Evans, Jr., the Alsops, Walter Ridder—were friends of many years. But his associations

went far beyond that to other men who also were already senior correspondents when he, about the same age, was a junior Congressman; it was quite natural for him, as President, to pick them up on Washington streets as they walked to work and talk to them about their work, their dates and their problems. This did some of them no journalistic harm. Rowland Evans went from *Herald Tribune* correspondent to syndicated columnist (with Robert Novak). Another, even closer friend, Charles Bartlett, went from correspondent for the *Chattanooga Times* to syndicated columnist.

Johnson had fewer personal friends among the press but typically they were more intense. Closest was William S. White, a fellow Texan, who, shortly after Johnson became President, wrote in his column, "For 30 years . . . I have intimately known Lyndon Johnson as I have never known any other public—or private—man." Mrs. Johnson's press secretary is Elizabeth Carpenter who, with her husband, Leslie, used to run a moderately successful stringer bureau, mostly for Texas papers. After Johnson became President, Les Carpenter blossomed into a syndicated political columnist (with a growth in clientele reputed to be equal to that lost by Bartlett during the same period). Drew Pearson turned out to be distantly related by marriage to the new President and wrote a column in the form of an open letter to "My dear grandson, Lyndon." The new President is known to like and admire Philip Potter who, at least at this writing, has been content to remain a correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun*.

Johnson as President has carried on a bustling cultivation of another level of the press. Shortly after his swearing in he dropped in on Walter Lippman. He sent a plane to Dallas to bring Mr. and Mrs. James Reston to the LBJ ranch for Christmas. He crashed a party given by Marguerite Higgins of Long Island *Newsday*. At parties he has made sure to dance long and graciously with wives of newspaper people.

At the managerial level the new President has conducted an astounding series of lengthy luncheons, stag swimming pool splashes (which, at the other end of the spectrum from the Kennedy pool parties, have often been without swimming suits), and has given impromptu tours of his family quarters in the White House, including one of Mrs. Johnson's suite while she was bedridden with flu. (He comes honestly by this American home-showing impulse. He did it with his home while Majority Leader, with the more grand Perle Mesta estate he bought when he was Vice President, and now with 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue; Richard Nixon as Vice President also showed guests his closets.) He has spent hours with executives of,

## WASHINGTON

among others, AP, UPI, *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Times*, ABC, NBC, and CBS. He tells most of them he reads more than a dozen papers. He dropped in for lunch at the 43rd Street Mother Church of *The New York Times* (on the same day that he expressed himself back at the Hotel Carlyle on the rival *Trib* in an idiom Harry Truman would envy). He has personally telephoned at length to reporters whose stories he liked (Cecil Holland, of the *Washington Star*, for example). And his staff, implying that the boss was sitting beside them, have complained bitterly to reporters whose stories were not liked. (Douglas Kiker, of the *Herald Tribune*, for example, the morning his story appeared saying the President was not doing so well on foreign affairs, got a White House telephone call at his home before breakfast).

Both Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have involved themselves with the people of the press to a degree unprecedented in history. But there are some important differences in the nature of the two relationships. The Kennedy entente was not always cordial, personally or managerially; there were jabs from the press and occasional arrogance by some Kennedy press people. But the typical White House complaint then was about facts, not motives, and the President himself, always respectful of good minds and contemptuous of fools, steered clear of appearing to have vendettas against personalities.

It must be said that the Johnson staff have not always done well by their boss. Their disputes have often been over personal motives, and too often on the assumption that a reporter ought to be "loyal" or at least "for" rather than "against." Some of the staff have conducted press exercises that can only be described as clumsy. The Bobby Baker case broke while Johnson was still Vice President and shortly thereafter a couple of the staff, apparently on their own, circulated among correspondents saying that the Johnson-Baker friendship had been exaggerated. Everyone on Capitol Hill knew of this friendship and it was folly to peddle a story to men who knew better. Recently when the President's insurance agent gave irritating testimony about gifts to his client there followed some high-level leaks of official government information tending to discredit the insurance agent.

Both these efforts were ham-handed and left the boss looking worse than before. The basic error here has not been to try to put the best face on the news — every normal human being tries to — but in ignoring the element of professionalism among press people. Most press people work by standards of performance that go beyond friendship and favors, and all of them — including those with weak standards — resent it if there is not at least some assumption that this is so.

This is not to say that the President has not been effective in his dealing with the news, for he is more effective than most of the Washington press thinks he is. What appears to some correspondents as incredible corniness is, in the shrewdness of President Johnson, enormously impressive. For example, the President acknowledges that shutting off the White House lights doesn't save much money but he judged better than newspapermen the impact of the symbolism of the lights-out policy.

His torrents of talk and his easy slipping on and off the record will get him into trouble sooner or later. Some officials and reporters have been startled at the detail with which he recounts high-level conversations, sometimes word-for-word dialogue and on treasured occasions with personal imitations, at which he is very good. But when he wants to he can make Cal Coolidge look like a blabbermouth. And his impetuous informality is honest enough and will be altered, as it would be with any man in that awesome job, after the early adjustments have been made.

John Kennedy left his mark on many Washington correspondents, among them men not easily given to sentiment. When the assassination caught many columnists with obsolete columns about to be printed, the syndicates asked for new ones; Joseph Alsop, ordinarily among the most relentlessly professional men in town, replied that he was too depressed by the news to write about it. Kennedy was a contemporary of most correspondents and culturally he was closer to them than any President they had known. More than ever newspaper people found themselves active in the governing process, sometimes disapproving and exploited, but changed for being a conscious part of the President's thinking. A special excitement went out of Washington when John Kennedy died.

But there is now a promise of a new and different kind of excitement, partly the eternal excitement of the office and partly that of the new man who occupies it. If Kennedy's mind burned with a bright blue flame, Lyndon Johnson's is a roaring fire. It would be an imprudent man in the news trade who did not expect an alternation of painful blistering and warm comfort from the ball of fire now making his own special mark on the news from Washington.

# Newspapers and "metro"

*Can newspapers perform effective roles in shaping urban government, or do their efforts serve only an elite? Drawing on the discussions of a seminar held in the summer of 1963 on effective community reporting and on earlier surveys, Samuel Lubell, opinion analyst and an adjunct professor of journalism at Columbia, assesses recent campaigns for governmental reforms and the part the press played in them. The seminar, supported by a Ford Foundation grant, was attended by sixty newspapermen and scholars. It was sponsored by the Opinion Reporting Workshop of the Graduate School of Journalism, of which Mr. Lubell is the director.*

By SAMUEL LUBELL

Social scientists sometimes argue against making any strenuous effort to explain complicated social problems to the public through newspapers. They contend that the truly important role of the newspaper is to influence public officials. Through newspapers, they say, experts can reach the persons in the bureaucracy and community who are vitally concerned with a particular matter and, in effect, put the problem on their agenda.

This is indeed a vital role. One planner in our seminar remarked, "Often the most effective way of getting action is to leak a story to the newspapers. What ever appears in the newspapers settles what we work on that day."

Some urban planners would be content to use the press only as a means of needling the bureaucracy. Several seemed to share the view of a professor of political science that "you can't communicate these technical problems to a mass audience."

Social scientists and public officials make a serious mistake if they think that it is enough for experts to

communicate with one another. Without minimizing the agenda-making value of newspapers, I believe there remains a vital need to reach the public as well.

On many issues, the direct approval of the public must be sought — for example, in referenda on city-county consolidation or in the approval of bond issues and other spending proposals.

More important, the public's reaction to a situation is usually an important part of the problem. Often the success of an attack on some difficulty will hinge on the ability to change the thinking or feeling of the people. This is certainly true of racial and tax issues. The success of a Massachusetts experiment, the "Commuter Demonstration," hangs on whether people can be persuaded to ride trains and buses instead of automobiles.

Influencing public officials is a heady game. Many social scientists may relish the idea of being part of an aristocratic "action" elite. But as long as the experts traffic only with other experts, their analysis of metropolitan problems is likely to prove incomplete or unsound. No public issue can be said to have been thought through fully without consideration of its

impact on the public. If this impact can be stated in human terms, then one has the first essential for effective communication with the public.

There is an important distinction between simply dramatizing the news to attract readers' attention and engaging their interest and participation. Both are needed. In our interviewing we have found that much of what is written about local-government problems simply is not read.

Craftsmanship is needed to enliven what is printed. But beyond attention-getting, effective community reporting hinges on the ability to interpret metropolitan problems in terms of human motivations.

As illustrations, consider the numerous efforts to create "metro" (area-wide) governments. To date three such proposals have been approved by the public—in Miami, East Baton Rouge, and Nashville. But consolidation proposals have been defeated in at least eight other cities: St. Louis, Cleveland, Richmond, Durham, Seattle, Knoxville, Albuquerque, and Memphis.

These defeats were anything but testimonials to the effectiveness of either political scientists or the newspapers. For some years consolidation of urban government has been the reform most urged by political scientists. Where referenda have been held, the proposal has had the support of the "best minds"—civic organizations, community leaders, as well as newspapers and broadcasting stations. Still, the idea has been defeated again and again.

To gain a better understanding of metro's weaknesses, the Opinion Reporting Workshop did interviewing surveys just before and after referendum votes in three areas: Nashville, where metro won; Dayton, where it lost; and Miami, where the vote was close to a draw.

In all three areas, by far the strongest single source of opposition to metro consolidation was the fear that taxes would be increased. After that came other reasons for resistance: the opposition of city or county workers whose jobs might be threatened; the feeling of many Negroes that they would lose political power in a larger unit of government; the vague, abstract nature of the proposals; the reluctance of country people to be citified; and the tensions resulting from stratification of urban society by income levels inside the city and between the city and suburb.

#### Nashville: lack of influence

Naturally, the relative importance of these influences varied from area to area. Also, the focus of resentment sometimes reversed itself from one vote to the next. In the Nashville area, for example, a proposal to name a commission to prepare a charter of

city-county consolidation was voted down in 1958 but approved in 1961.

The reversal did not reflect any dramatic conversion to the principle of metropolitan government. The biggest reason for the changed vote was the fact that after the 1958 referendum the city of Nashville annexed 42 square miles in which more than 80,000 persons lived. The annexation touched off resentment against Nashville's mayor, Ben West; this led to the approval of the charter.

In 1958 the precincts in the annexed area had barely approved the idea of consolidation. In 1961 they went 8 to 1 for the proposal.

In our interviewing after the second referendum, we were struck by the vehemence of anti-West feeling among residents in the annexed areas. One automobile worker explained: "The new charter will help beat that Nashville crowd."

A meat inspector recalled, "Right after the annexation I swore I'd never vote again. We voted against being taken into the city but they took us in anyway."

The argument advanced most frequently in Nashville in favor of consolidation was the hope that it would end overlapping services and cut the cost of government. In 1958 many voters had refused to accept this argument. But having been annexed into the city against their will, many decided they "might as well get rid of one tax" by merging the governments.

Many city workers opposed consolidation. In the northwest section of Nashville a 27-year-old clerk started off by saying that "consolidation would be a good thing if it were run right," but added, "I'm against it." Pressed for the reason, he replied, "It's a step toward communism." When pressed still further, he finally said, "Some city jobs would be cut out. I might lose my police reserve job."

But their opposition was more than offset by the pro-consolidation efforts of the county workers. In fact, we found that much of the Nashville metro fight was really a political battle between city and county workers.

In all of our interviewing we could detect no major influence on voters by the Nashville newspapers. Both papers supported the 1958 proposal, which was beaten. In 1961 they divided, with the *Tennessean* supporting the consolidation effort and the *Banner* favoring West. In the 1961 contest the *Tennessean* played an important role in organizing the behind-the-scenes strategy and encouraging pro-consolidation workers with publicity.

But our interviewing disclosed virtually no voters who said they had shifted in 1961 because of the stand of the newspapers.

In Dayton and Miami, too, the newspapers tried

to influence the voting. When the campaigns in these two cities are compared one fact stands out — the enormous power of controversy.

In Miami, the issue was fought out with bitterness and anger; in Dayton, what was at stake hardly came to the surface. By every measure we used, controversy produced a more interested, more alert, and better informed electorate.

The turnout of voters in Miami was half again as high in relation to the 1960 presidential election as it was in Dayton — 63 per cent against 40 per cent.

In both cities people were asked if they could give an argument on the side opposite to the way they voted. (Knowing the views of one's opponents seemed a good measure of how well informed the voters were about the issue.) In Dayton 42 per cent of those interviewed could recall an opposition argument. In Miami 51 per cent could.

In both cities the advocates of county consolidation were better able to give an argument on the other side than were voters opposed to consolidation.

In Dayton, few persons explained their votes by referring to something they had read in the papers. In Miami many persons did.

Some anti-metro voters said the Miami newspapers made them "angry" with their "pure propaganda." But many more persons said stories they read influenced them to vote in favor of metro.

#### **Miami: saved by controversy**

There is little question that Miami's metro government was saved by the controversy of the campaign and by the way the newspapers handled the issue. The 1961 referendum was on an amendment proposed by a former Dade County commissioner, John McLeod, which would have broken the existing metro government into five commissions, with five different tax assessors.

Earlier in 1961 a short-lived proposal to raise the assessments on all homes to full value had stirred a virtual homeowner's revolt. Enough resentment over reassessment held on so that metro would have been voted out if reassessment had been tied to it.

However, as the campaign developed, the newspapers so shifted the emphasis that the big issue became what the McLeod amendment would do. The *Miami Herald*, for example, ran a series, "what they're not telling you," which asked questions about McLeod's motives. The suspicions and fears that McLeod stirred saved metro.

The prevailing mood was summed up by one former New Yorker who said, "Metro may be a mistake, but it's better than that man McLeod."

In the same precinct, a retired Bostonian had

**TONIGHT'S  
EDITORIAL**

A WTVJ daily presentation

BROADCAST OVER  
**WTVJ CHANNEL 4 MIAMI**

by Ralph Renck, WTVJ Vice President in Charge of News

Ms. 1382  
Monday Jan. 27, 1964

**"SLUM AMENDMENT ISSUE STILL MUDDLED"**

Dade voters tomorrow will cast ballots on a County Mayor and eight Commissioners and decide the fate of an urban renewal amendment to the Metro Charter.

Over the past few weeks, we have editorially commented on the issue involved in the urban renewal amendment.

In line with WTVJ policy, we have provided air time for responsible spokesmen for the opposing viewpoint to express their opinion — to say what they wished.

This has occurred on three programs. We believe you will agree that in television we have been most fair in enabling the public to have both views presented.

Now we come down to the wire and, unfortunately, the issue seems to be muddled.

In our view, if you are for elimination of slums, if you are for urban renewal to wipe away the slum blight on this entire area, you will vote AGAINST the amendment tomorrow.

It is our view that the slum landlords — those who wish to perpetuate high density and high income cheap housing to enhance their own pocketbooks, are FOR the amendment. This is our view.

A last minute charge by proponents alleges that slum owners are actually AGAINST the amendment. We find this most difficult to believe.

Broadcasting, too: WTVJ of Miami commented on January 27, 1964, on amendment to metro charter

signed the original petition favoring the McLeod amendment. He was disappointed in metro "because taxes are too high." He also resented paying taxes to both the city and county when people living outside the city paid only one tax. He was angry, too, over reassessment. As the campaign progressed, however, he gradually changed his mind and voted for metro. Mainly he was afraid that McLeod, whom he termed "a Beau Brummel," would bring back "the kind of crooked politics we had in Boston."

Our interviews identified enough voters who shifted during the campaign to make it clear that metro would have lost had the issue remained a vote for or against metro.

In many cities where the metro idea has been defeated it has been presented as an almost antiseptic reform, above any selfish interests and inspired solely by the desire for progress. Our Miami interviews, though, suggest that the public interest is better served by reporting campaigns for consolidation in flesh-and-blood terms, as clashes of interests that directly affect people's living. This means full publicity for those who oppose as well as those who favor metro.

For example, the Miami papers gave some prominence to the fact that the Bus Drivers Union had

endorsed the McLeod amendment as a means of opposing county-wide operation of buses. Many of the voters interviewed said they voted for metro because they wanted a county-wide system.

One housewife had intended to support the McLeod amendment because of reassessment. But she changed her mind as a result of "what she read in the papers." She explained, "I didn't like the position those bus drivers took."

At one point in the campaign, McLeod had asked his supporters to stop buying the *Miami Herald*. A Miami policeman urged his wife to drop the paper but, she said, "I told him that would be like cutting off your nose to spite yourself." She continued to take the *Herald* and her husband "kept reading it."

The Miami "metro" battle was reported in terms that dug into the emotions of the public. The voter could see what he had at stake, and who was lined up in opposition and why.

#### **Dayton: misunderstood**

In Dayton, however, the proposal for charter change never really came to life. To many voters it remained an abstract idea, which some misunderstood and which others regarded with suspicion. Nor was a really convincing case made for the need of the change.

Among Dayton voters who were interviewed the day after the referendum vote, only one in five could suggest any change they wanted to see made in the local government structure. Those who favored charter change were no clearer on this than those who were opposed.

Many persons replied with the simple statement, "I'm satisfied the way things are going," or, "No one showed a real need for a new charter."

In part this feeling might be attributed to the nature of the proposal being voted on. It did not call for outright consolidation of the city and county but merely provided for the creation of a commission to draft a charter that would be submitted to the people for another vote.

In urging support for the charter change both the *Dayton News* and *Journal Herald* argued that "the voter is only being asked to approve a proposal to write a charter."

On the day of the vote (November 6) the *Journal Herald* ran a front page editorial headlined "A Fair Chance":

It is characteristic of the voters of our community to give a thing or a man a fair chance.

If they believe that newspapers are kicking

a politician around, for instance, the chances are that they will elect him.

This brings us to what will be our last small word on the charter question.

If you vote "no" tomorrow it means that you don't want to give some fellow citizen a chance to write a charter — to see if they can come up with a plan you may want to adopt next year.

It seems to us this thing ought to have a fair chance. It seems to us it ought to get a "yes" vote.

One factory worker remarked, "I read that editorial twice. I wondered what were they trying to put over on us." Another said, "It sounded like they wanted to give someone a job."

Many others did not know where the papers stood on the issue. Of all the persons interviewed in Dayton, only 56 per cent could say how the two Dayton papers wanted them to vote.

Nearly a fourth of the persons interviewed thought the new charter commission intended to change the prevailing division of powers among the local governments in the county. Actually, the commission candidates had pledged themselves not to make such a change.

There were fears as to the possible nature of the charter. Many voters feared that key county officials might be appointed, not elected. Always in the back of people's minds, too, was the fear that a charter change would raise taxes.

The point being made here is not that the Dayton charter proposal would have won approval in a more openly controversial campaign. The basic point is that in a democratic society every government is like an arena where people fight for their interests. The claim for metro is that this form of local government will operate more effectively in the public interests than many fractional local governments.

This is the case the metro advocates have yet to prove. The experiences of Miami, Dayton, and Nashville indicate that the case of either side can be made more effectively in an atmosphere of open controversy. A campaign in which the lineup of conflicting interests is in the open is likely to be more useful than a campaign of abstract idealism.

In every referendum studied, the vote has tended to break markedly on educational and income lines. Higher income, better educated neighborhoods have usually voted for city-county consolidation. The lower-income, less educated areas have opposed the proposals.

This might be interpreted as indicating that "people are too stupid to know what is the right thing." But our conclusion was that white-collar and educated

people are more easily manipulated by words while less-educated people are more suspicious of experts.

The voting on these referenda also bears the warning that the nation's newspapers may be too oriented to white-collar readers, to the detriment of their influence on the lower 55 per cent of the urban population.

One additional Dayton sidelight might be noted. The committee of civic leaders that led the fight for charter change was called the Home Rule Charter Council. The "home rule" phrase reflected a belief that one of the strongest appeals of a new charter was a provision enabling the county to draft legislation without going to the legislature in the state capital.

Yet of 150 persons interviewed only two cited the "home rule" feature in explaining how they voted. To most Dayton voters, the label "home rule charter" had no more meaning than a menu printed in French.

Similar reactions showed up in other cities where surveys were conducted. We found that many people automatically passed up a story with the word "charter" in the headline. It simply blocked out their in-

terest. The public, if only in self-protection against constant assaults on its attention, is able to remain inattentive to most of what is said and written.

Surveys made by the Opinion Reporting Workshop point to three aids to better communication of local government issues to newspaper readers:

1. Arousing interest through controversy.
2. Using language that lays bare the actual conflicts of interest at stake.
3. Where possible, personalizing the issues.

Scholars may object that personalizing abstract or complicated issues makes more difficult the kind of reasoned debate that academicians like to dream about. Still, both in Miami and Nashville, personalizing the issues helped to stir voter interest—and even brought about sizable shifts in votes.

Used poorly, these aids could create a conflict between accuracy and the need to gain attention. But if newspapermen are good enough craftsmen, there need be no such conflict. There must be an audience before anything can be heard.

# **PRESIDENT'S DEATH INTEGRATION GAINS POPE JOHN DEAD COUP IN VIET NAM TEST-BAN TREATY PROFUMO SCANDAL**

## **"Top ten" news stories: 1963 consensus**

This material reflects the combined news judgments of editors responding to polls conducted by the AP, CBS, NBC, Publisher's Auxiliary, and UPI. The size of the type is proportionate to the prominence of the stories in the polls.

**THRESHER LOST**

**COOPER IN ORBIT**

**USSR v. CHINA**

**PRAYER DECISION**

# Editorial notebook

## Journalistic morale

The faculty and dean of any major journalism school receive a steady flow of letters, telephone calls, and personal visits from recent graduates. We wish it were feasible for the average editor or publisher, disturbed about his personnel problems, to examine a cross section of these reports from his own staff members. He would find that low salaries are by no means the sole cause—or even the main cause—of dissatisfaction among his more intelligent staff members. A few recent reports from Columbia Journalism graduates illustrate the point:

- A capable young reporter has resigned from a large Eastern paper after turning in a story on a demonstration outside a department store and being told "this must go to the front office." The story came back reduced to a few almost meaningless sentences. After giving notice over this, the latest of a series of similar instances, the reporter was approached by a newsroom veteran who said: "Congratulations. Most of us wish we could afford to do the same thing."
- A journalist on another large newspaper has written requesting help in finding a new job. He explained: "The city editor let slip that the paper has a list of 'good guys' and 'bad guys,' and that we are not to do stories reflecting in any way on the 'good guys.'"
- Two cases have been reported where able young reporters (one on a newspaper, one on a broadcast station staff) have been told, in effect: "You had better lay off digging up these stories that are likely to stir up a controversy. I would advise you to stick to the routine coverage."

These cases, paralleled by similar reports from others, cannot be brushed off as simply the grousing of over-eager and brash young zealots.

At the other pole there are frequent alumni reports of newspapers (and broadcast stations), large and small, that do not duck the stories that may offend someone in the local power structure, that treat staff members as responsible human beings, and that win staff admiration for their fairness and independence.

These admired newspapers are not always big and powerful. To cite a few, here are some smaller newspapers that seem to win the admiration and loyalty of young employees: the *Charlotte (N.C.) Observer*, the *Eugene (Ore.) Register-Guard*, the *Santa Barbara*

(Calif.) *News-Press*, the *San Juan (P.R.) Star*, and the *Berkshire Eagle* (Pittsfield, Mass.).

## The 'communicologist' complaint

This column must register a mild dissent and a sharp protest against the two-part speech delivered at the fall meeting of the Associated Press Managing Editors by George J. Kienzle, director of Ohio State's School of Journalism. The first part of the Kienzle talk reported statistically on disillusionment of journalism school graduates with conditions in the profession. It was much more discouraging than are our own findings. For example, Kienzle reported only one in six journalism graduates still in journalism ten years after graduation. Columbia's experience is nearer to 50 per cent.

More serious was the Kienzle indictment and ridiculing of "communicologists" (or researchers) in journalism education.

Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism has long emphasized professional training above research and has raised its eyebrows at some examples of so-called communications research. At the same time, it believes that well-conceived research can make a contribution to the improvement of journalism, is itself undertaking a number of such projects, and is indebted to the specialists who concentrate on improvement of research methods. To ridicule the entire field, as our friend from Ohio State did, is grossly unfair.

## "...as a public service"

The weeks following the tragedy in Dallas brought a spate of press and broadcast announcements that this or that project was being offered "as a public service." It would seem time to recognize that any mature news organization is presumed to be operating as a public service and that broadcast stations formally claim this function when applying for licenses. It is suggested that this self-congratulation be continued only by organizations that admit their regular functions are not a public service.

## Lyons' share

Some sort of special salute should go to Louis M. Lyons as he prepares to retire after 18 years as curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard. As counselor, he has earned the deep gratitude of more than 200 Nieman Fellows. As a critic of the shoddy, he has annoyed many in the profession, but won the profession's gratitude by defending it against irresponsible detractors. As an editor, he has generally sustained a tone of steady common sense blended with idealism in *Nieman Reports*. In all capacities he has earned the gratitude of the profession.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

# Etiquette for interviewers

Angry words flew on November 8, 1963, between Senator J. Strom Thurmond and Robert Beringer, a radio newsman who uses the air name Robert Fargo on WISM, an independent station in Madison, Wisconsin. During a news conference at the University of Wisconsin, the senator from South Carolina provoked an outburst from the broadcaster and stirred up a hassle in which Madison's daily newspapers expressed opposing views.

Who was at fault? This and other questions raised by indignant letter writers on both sides were examined in the December issue of *Static*, the monthly newsletter of the Council on Radio-Television Journalism of the Association for Education in Journalism.

A tape recording of the flare-up between Fargo and Senator Thurmond was supplied to *Static* by Fargo's employer. The tape had been used in a broadcast by another WISM reporter, Mark Henry, who reported the clash. The newsletter printed Henry's introduction and a transcript of the angry exchange:

**HENRY:** In a statement last night, the Senator stated that Communism is trying to subvert America through its churches and schools. He further stated that — quote — I'd advise you all to keep your eyes and ears open. He told the students that on the subject of federal aid, it would rewrite the history books and inspectors would be snooping around the schools. Newsman Fargo then asked if he approved of students snooping on their teachers. Here is Senator Thurmond's reply:

**TAPE BEGINS...**

**THURMOND:** Yes, I think a student should keep their eyes open and listen to what teachers say. We've got some very dangerous teachers [garbled] in some of our colleges.

**FARGO:** Will you name one? Will you name one?

Will you name one teacher without your congressional immunity . . .

**THURMOND:** No, I'm not . . .

**FARGO:** Name one teacher. Name one church. Name one school in the United States of America that has ever been indicted and convicted in a federal grand jury of subversion, sedition or anything else. Name one right here. I ask you, right now!

**THURMOND:** I . . .

**FARGO:** That's my final question.

**THURMOND:** I could name . . . I could name . . . I could name . . .

**FARGO:** Name one . . . Name one right here.

**THURMOND:** Many of . . .

**FARGO:** Name one, right here.

**THURMOND:** I am not indulging . . .

**FARGO:** Name one.

**THURMOND:** You have asked your question. I'm now answering it if you'll . . .

**FARGO:** Name one. Name one. I'm asking you to name . . .

**THURMOND:** Keep quiet!

**FARGO:** I'm asking you to name one, right here and now, without congressional immunity.

**THURMOND:** Are you now through asking your question? I'll attempt to answer it. My answer is that I am not indulging in personalities . . .

**FARGO:** All right, I'll take your refusal right here.

**THURMOND:** I have not indulged . . .

**FARGO:** What you pointed out is very, very important.

**THURMOND:** If you'll wait until I get through . . .

**FARGO:** A smear is very important. Name one.

**THURMOND:** Who do you represent? Who do you represent?

**FARGO:** Name one.

**FARGO:** I represent WISM radio in Madison and I am an American citizen . . . [garbled]

**THURMOND:** I'm amazed that a company would employ you to ask a senator a question and not give him a chance to answer.

**FARGO:** I asked you to name one. I don't want a filibuster.

**THURMOND:** I do not deal in personalities, and

in the senate I have not dealt in personalities. I am refusing to change policy.

FARGO: But these personalities have been hurt by smears. They've been hurt by your smears. Name one. I ask you right here . . .

THURMOND: I can name many but I shall not indulge in personalities . . .

FARGO: . . . that has been indicted and convicted.

THURMOND: I can name many but I am not indulging in personalities. And I do say I think that students should be on their guard against what some of their teachers are teaching. I have had students to come to me and give me the names of their teachers, and I suggested to them that they talk to their president of the college about it, and if they didn't get results, then to go to the trustees about it.

END OF TAPE . . .

HENRY: Following the exchange between Senator Thurmond and newsman Fargo, the senator stated that he is a member of the Federal Communications Commission Subcommittee of the Senate and would expect an apology for Fargo's disrespect from WISM's general manager, William Walker.

After quoting the transcript, *Static* reported further: "Later in the news conference, Sen. Thurmond also complained of unfair treatment in the Northern press. He said television cameramen had stopped shooting at the news conference soon after the exchange with Fargo and had not filmed the 'more reasonable questions.' The cameramen said they had run out of film."

Among the questions raised by the squabble, *Static* asked these:

What's the proper etiquette at a news conference? Did the Madison, Wis., radio newsman show "disrespect" in his persistent questioning . . . ?

Was the Senator, who pointedly reminded the newsman that he is a member of the Federal Communications Subcommittee of the Senate, justified in calling for an apology?

Did the newsman damage the professional standing of his broadcast colleagues in the eyes of newspaper critics?

His manners aside, was the newsman—and the public—entitled to a frank answer from the Senator?

Was there a larger question involved . . . did the dispute illustrate a threat of government retaliation hanging over the broadcasting industry's freedom to probe controversial issues?

Opposing stands were taken by the two Madison daily newspapers. *Static* reported that the morning *Wisconsin State Journal* rapped Fargo's knuckles:

The ridiculous display of inexcusable bombast by a representative of a Madison "rock

and roll" radio station . . . can only supply ammunition to the critics of the American press. . . . Something is wrong when a "reporter" turns out at a press conference to badger the speaker and then disrupts the proceedings with shouting, storming and table thumping. . . . The reporters at the press conference, some of whom at least personally disagreed with Thurmond's positions, were embarrassed by the bush-league attempt to cover the news. . . . The "working press" left disgusted but with the consolation of knowing that the senator learned that the "reporter" belonged to the music station.

The evening *Capital Times* upheld the radio newsman:

Thurmond, like McCarthy before him, is fond of making charges about sedition and subversion when he has the immunity of the Senate floor protecting him from slander and libel laws. But when those demagogues are challenged out in the open they always resort to some dodge. . . . Every reporter in that room with any sense of the responsibilities of good journalism, would have backed Fargo up. . . . This was a raw attempt at intimidation of the press and should be met by a united front of all those interested in press freedom in this country.

Letters to the editors of the two newspapers were equally definite in their opposing opinions:

"The video tape clearly shows that Fargo was not out to get Thurmond's views. He was after a scalp. He was out to make news, not report it. . . ."

"As a journalism student . . . I can only hope the public realizes Fargo's actions were not those of a competent newsman. . . ."

"I would like to further offer my strong personal criticism toward the *Wisconsin State Journal* for using this . . . in creating a 'situation' against an entire radio station, especially one which, at least in part, is greatly dedicated toward bringing to light items of great public interest on a day to day basis."

A neighboring radio station president wrote a protest against Fargo's "inexcusable" conduct and added, "This one shallow-minded tirade could undo months of dedicated work by the majority."

Fargo's employer, William R. Walker, president of the Heart O' Wisconsin Broadcasters, gave the editors of *Static* a two-page, single-spaced statement that called the questioning "essentially a personal matter which can be resolved most equitably between the newsman, his company and the senator."

When an isolated incident like this one becomes a subject for public debate, newsmen in and out of broadcasting can take another look at their own interview techniques and ask: "Is courtesy ever out of place?"

# PLAN FOR LOCAL PRESS COUNCILS

## A publisher's proposal

*The idea of a press council, monitoring journalism on behalf of the public, has often been proposed, but rarely by persons inside the business of journalism. An exception is the detailed plan set forth in a speech by Barry Bingham, president and publisher of The Courier-Journal and Times of Louisville, before the Sigma Delta Chi convention on November 7, 1963. Excerpts are printed here:*

In most American cities one-newspaper ownership is trying to satisfy the whole gamut of interests, tastes, and beliefs within the community. A newspaper cannot possibly hope for full approval from readers with so many varying points of view. What it must try to earn is their respect. If it neglects that task, it does so at its own peril.

How can a man who guides a newspaper's policies strive for that kind of reward?

Naturally, the first and best way is to publish as good a paper every day as he can possibly get from his staff. Yet we all know that we seldom operate at full, peak efficiency on any given day, either as individuals or as institutions. . . .

Another way the owner of a paper can try for the good opinion of his readers is to avoid all controversy, ignore all difficult local issues, and strive to keep from making a single subscriber angry. But such tactics do not earn respect. They earn indifference and, ultimately, contempt.

A publisher can try to plug his product by constantly telling his readers how juicy-good it is. Promotion of that kind is a familiar feature of National Newspaper Week. Some publishers use full-page ads to tell their readers how lucky they are to be able

to buy so much value every day for a few measly pennies. The whole exercise strikes me as ineffective and slightly ridiculous.

An owner can escape the whole problem of the relationship with his readers, of course, by selling out to some hungry chain operator and putting his money into gold bars or government bonds. I would not recommend that method.

The problem, then is to stay in business and try to build on a solid foundation of public trust. The first ingredient of trust is understanding. To form that kind of foundation is the hardest of all procedures, but surely the most rewarding.

The question lies in how a newspaper staff can establish a more intimate contact with the minds of readers. The Lord knows that we people in the newspaper business never lack for advice from the public.

This sense of public involvement in our business is a valuable asset to us. We should cultivate it. The trouble is that so much of this free advice is useless to the newspapers, and therefore frustrating to those who offer it.

I agree with Frank Eyerly of the *Des Moines Register* when he says: "Newspapers have many shortcomings, but they are not the shortcomings the critics usually discuss."

On the other hand, the reader doesn't hear our side of the case, because we talk at him instead of to him; because we frequently get huffy over criticism and try to hide all our faults under the mantle of freedom of the press, because, in short, we fail to communicate.

Somehow or other, we must establish a true and open dialogue with our readers. Several ways have been tried, all of them with certain merits.

One is the opening of the letters column in a newspaper to all shades of opinion. This is a real safety-valve for the emotions of readers, especially in a

## AT ISSUE

one-ownership town. It still represents only a one-way conversation, however. The reader fusses at the paper for some action he disapproves. The editor answers, if at all, in a brief note that often reads as if it were dictated on Olympus.

The *Edmonton Journal*, a leading paper in Western Canada, has recently tried a further step. It has started a weekly feature called "The Journal for Dissent." Readers are encouraged to send in articles, not just letters, on all sorts of controversial matters. The page is headed by a quotation from Adlai Stevenson: "A democracy is a society in which honorable men may honorably disagree."

Such a feature is a respectable effort, but it still falls short of a genuine dialogue between editor and reader. Each has an opportunity to say his piece, but they are not talking directly to each other.

Ralph Casey, the director emeritus of the University of Minnesota school of journalism, offers still another formula. He says that "newspaper people need to talk oftener to public groups or to assemblies in which craftsmen and members of the public look together at the ways of the press. 'Playback' of audiences can be helpful to journalists." Mr. Casey helped to foster such an exchange through the Newspaper Guild Memorial Lectures at the University of Minnesota.

Here we are coming closer to the mark. What I believe we require, however, is a continuing two-way exchange between the journalist and the public, rather than an occasional opening at a lecture.

I can think of only one way in which such a dialogue could be established. It would be by the formation of a voluntary, unofficial press council in each sizable community.

Such a device could provide a lively forum for criticism and defense. It could bring the responsible journalist face to face with his readers to debate the issues of press responsibility, with a small, informed group to act as arbitrators.

I would ask such a council to make periodic reports to the public. To reach a wide audience, I would put a council session on local television at least four times a year. I would urge that responsible newspaper executives appear on that program, not only to defend but to explain their positions.

Many newspaper people might find such an assignment distasteful. I can only argue that a device of

that kind would provide the broadest kind of exposure for the journalist's case, under conditions that would arouse public interest and quite possibly open minds to a new appreciation of newspaper problems.

The British have had a National Press Council since 1953. It hears complaints against newspaper practices and issues annual reports.

I believe the National Council serves a useful though limited purpose in Britain. I would not recommend that method for America, however. It would certainly arouse fears of censorship or some official effort to enforce ethical standards. I would be opposed, too, to a council for that purpose made up entirely of journalists. I would prefer a council of intelligent laymen.

I can hear objections that a group of laymen could never understand our complicated problems. I don't believe that. We have tended in the past to regard our craft as a mystery that only the trained expert can hope to penetrate. This attitude has repelled our readers and denied them the role of constructive critics they might in many cases assume.

I would like to see a local press council consist of three to five prominent citizens, people who



Edmonton Journal's "dissent" page, mentioned in Bingham speech. Page for September 10 is shown

would command respect. Each would undertake to read the local papers thoroughly and analytically. Each would also undertake to read at least three other papers from other cities, for purposes of comparison. If each member read three different out-of-town papers, the spread of comparative material should be adequate.

Who should the council members be? I would eliminate one entire group, the people who have direct or indirect connections with politics. Strong political partisans simply cannot see a newspaper's performance objectively. They never believe that their party or their candidate gets a fair break.

All council members should be well-regarded citizens of the community, with no personal axes to grind, and with balanced and inquiring minds. I believe there are at least a few such people in every community of size who would accept a civic service of this unusual character.

How should such a council be appointed? I would strongly oppose appointment by the mayor or any other elected official; this would give the whole operation a false air of officialdom. If there is a journalism school nearby, I would trust its dean to select the council members. Lacking such a device, the nominations could be left to the presidents of local or nearby colleges.

I am obviously thinking primarily of a press council in a single-ownership city. In cities where there are competing dailies, the competitors would have to find some formula for agreement on membership. Discussion in such cities might dwell heavily on comparisons between the performances of rival local papers. Comparisons of that kind might be odious, but couldn't management learn a good deal through this admittedly painful process?

The council members should do more than hear complaints against the local papers. They should make their own independent and continuing evaluation of press performance. They should give spokesmen of the press every opportunity to explain their procedures.

There will be plenty of objections raised to my press council proposal, I am sure. Many editors and publishers will dislike the idea of appearing in public to discuss and defend their publications. It will be a bold newspaperman who will deny, however, that we would benefit from a more understanding relationship with our readers.

Such a foundation of public trust is the only permanent protection against censorship, against government control, against any of the other outside influences we dread. It is also the only lasting form of security against the fate that has overtaken so

many newspapers in recent years, a fate that is howling at the heels of other potential victims on this very day.

Our readers, our public, are our first concern. When we establish a partnership of understanding with them, we serve two purposes at once: we advance our readers' interests, and we protect our own.

It is for that purpose that I am willing to take a dose of preventive medicine, though it may be somewhat bitter in the swallowing. It is for that purpose that I want to ask other journalists to join me.

#### Postscript by E & P

Editor & Publisher for November 16, 1963, commented on the Bingham proposal:

We think it is to the advantage of every newspaper to get as close to its community as possible—to fill the needs of its community and to impress its community that it is performing responsibly in the best interests of its community—and it can use all the constructive advice and help available.

But the one cherished possession every newspaper must protect is its independence of thought and action. It must chart a course and follow the compass to the best of its ability with all the guidance and advice it can get from its friends and enemies.

A local press council if it is established by a newspaper and operated in public in a gold-fish bowl before a television audience—no matter how "unofficial" it may presume to be—may take on the atmosphere of a committee with influence beyond its powers. No paper can be edited by a committee and it would be unwise to mislead the public into believing it can.

---

## Crisis: teacher or drug?

*Are crises a means to public education or merely a fulfillment of a constant public craving? Clifton Fadiman, writing in Holiday for November, 1963, took the latter view:*

What does the newspaper give the individual that is "indispensable"?

First and foremost, Crisis. The newspaper is the world's finest reporter and, of course, producer of crisis. Each society uses the drug adapted to its special

## AT ISSUE

organism. Medieval men, apparently with satisfactory results, took such drugs as prayer and asceticism. We take crisis. Only through the newspaper, our "connection," can we secure a never-ending supply...

The news of crisis also serves another useful purpose. It serves to keep us in a continuous state of confusion about what is happening to us.

This is a good thing, because if we understood what is happening to us, we might rebel....

It should be noted that the newspaper supplies crisis-chaos, not because it is run by cynics but because that is its nature. It runs on crisis, as cars do on gas....

These crises can be produced so rapidly and continuously that while they may stimulate us for the moment, they can never overwhelm or paralyze us. If they did, the drug would lose its efficacy.

*A different view, expressed in an address by Louis M. Lyons, curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, on accepting the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award at Colby College, November 21, 1963:*

In journalism crises are likely to be very revealing, to provide us with the best chance of seeing into a situation. The journalist has allies in uncovering strategic facts in a crisis. For one thing public attention focuses on it. People pay attention—keen to dis-

cover what they can. The public officials or others involved are on a spot. Any covering up is highly visible; any defiance of a legitimate public interest becomes dangerous. The heat is on and it melts away the wrappings of concealment or camouflage.

The press assigns its top men, skilled in probing and experienced in getting down to realities. They come in from outside and bring a fresh approach and an objectivity from being independent of local pressures. This has been of immense importance in Alabama and Mississippi, or in Latin America or Katanga, and more recently in Vietnam, wherever controlling local interests have enjoyed either a cozy relation with the local media or exercised intimidating pressures on them.

If the crisis lasts or recurs, as in Birmingham, you soon have a corps of able reporters who have developed independent sources of information and have penetrated below the surface of events to get to the core of the situation.

James Reston, of *The New York Times*, who works as hard as anyone in this field, once told the Nieman Fellows that the first problem of a correspondent is to hold the attention of the reader long enough to tell him anything. He competes with so many diverting demands on his reader's attention. The result is, Reston said, the correspondent must be prepared to put across the full significance of the event in the first flush of its front page display. Tonight he may be able to research it. Tomorrow he may get at an authority on it. But tomorrow is too late. That story has been pushed aside by later events, and he has lost the pristine chance at the reader's attention.



Drawing by Sauer © 1961

*The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.*

## Coverage for the few?

THE PRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY. By Bernard C. Cohen. Princeton University Press, Princeton. \$6.00.

This study calls attention to the influence of the newspaper press on American foreign policy. It also examines the ways in which government officials (and non-governmental participants in policy making) are influenced by the press and, in turn, sometimes use it to further their policy aims. Mr. Cohen, a professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, deserves credit for having explored these interactions.

But the study has serious shortcomings. It is based on somewhat dated interviews (some conducted in 1953 and 1954 and others between 1958 and 1960) with 62 Washington newsmen and 150 government officials. Moreover, as Lester Markel, Sunday editor of *The New York Times*, pointed out in a sharply critical review (*The Times Book Review*, November 17, 1963), the compass is too small. In limiting his study to newspapers (and for some purposes, the wire services), Mr. Cohen neglects both the substantial role of other media and the correspondents overseas.

As for the book's main conclusions: Mr. Cohen is on sound ground when he points out that American correspondents overseas are unevenly distributed (with too few outside Europe), when he suggests that more attention be given to specialized training of newsmen for dealing with foreign affairs, and when he criticizes the press for its tendency to report world affairs as crises. But he is more successful in seeing problems than in providing solutions.

A case can be made for his contention that the press should give more space to the situation type of story that might anticipate foreign problems, and less to "hard news" that is repetitious or inconsequential. That is the trend on better newspapers today, and it has been running for some time. It remains a primary function of the newspaper, however, to report the hard news. Readers have no other satisfactory printed source of such information.

Mr. Cohen says the news media should maintain full-time American correspondents in many areas

that produce little news. These non-news correspondents would supply their editors with a steady stream of "policy-relevant information and analysis." As to this interesting idea, unquestionably many areas should be better covered, but it is unrealistic to expect the American press to blanket the world with full-time reporters. The economics of news-gathering simply will not permit it.

And how much of a service would this be? Could the newspapers (which already receive far more foreign news than they can print) publish the reports? Or would the system operate only as a private intelligence service for editors and (as Mr. Cohen suggests farther on in the book) for the policy-making establishment?

The book's most disturbing conclusion has to do with the audience the press should serve. The public at large, Mr. Cohen says, does not make foreign policy, nor do more than about 10 per cent understand or care about international news. Therefore, he says, instead of trying to write the news so as to attract more readers, the press should cover foreign affairs for the 10 per cent ("the policy and opinion elite plus a somewhat larger attentive public"), and forget the rest. This would mean a "qualitative and quantitative improvement, an upgrading, in foreign policy news and comment, rather than the downgrading that is implicit in the attempt to attract new people into the audience." The attentive 10 per cent, Mr. Cohen goes on to say, will read more foreign news if it is offered, and newspapers could print more of it without changing their identity and with only a "very marginal increase" in costs — simply by grouping the stories toward the back of the paper, as is done with financial news.

Would this serve any useful purpose? Many newspapers already group their foreign news stories to an extent, and it is as costly to print page 28 as page 4 unless the specialized material (as is the case with financial news) attracts cost-defraying ads. But the major objection must be to the idea that international news should be — or really can be — isolated. As Mr. Markel observed, foreign news today is often really local news; it affects our daily lives.

What Mr. Cohen proposes is a corruption of the historic function of the general newspaper. Every editor runs some material of interest to only a small

## BOOKS

segment of his paper's readers. But it is the primary function of the newspaper to serve the public at large. Other media — the specialized magazines, for example — are better suited to the task of directing foreign policy information to the elite. The author neglects them.

If it is true that the public does not make foreign policy, it is the public — not just an elite 10 per cent — to whom the policy makers must turn for ultimate support. Few would deny that the press as a whole is not doing its job as well as it should: the public is not well enough informed about international affairs. It may even be true that 90 per cent of the people pay little or no attention to foreign news.

If so, then newspapers must redouble their efforts to expand the audience for significant international news. Even a small number of new readers may be counted worthwhile, for the press has, as Mr. Cohen should know, a greater responsibility to the public than to the policymakers.

JOHN LUTER

### Congenial but hazy

THE COMPACT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER. By John Tebbel. Hawthorne Books, Inc., New York. \$4.95.

Many of us who care deeply about the cause of journalism in this country have lamented, at one time or another, the lack of a concise, soundly researched history of the American newspaper. Students, cub reporters, working newsmen in need of stimulation and perspective, the layman seeking light on a storied institution — all would profit, and so would the institution itself. Frank Luther Mott's *American Journalism* and Edwin Emery's *The Press and America* run to more than 800 pages each, in the course of which the reader drowns in detail. William G. Bleyer's lucid *Main Currents in American Journalism*, right on target when it was written nearly forty years ago, suffers for want of the research that has piled up since, and Bleyer's vantage point in the mid-1920s hardly suffices today.

Bernard Weisberger tried his hand several years ago with *The American Newspaperman*, a crisply

written but sketchily researched work that served only to draw fresh attention to the need and the difficulty of filling it. Now comes John Tebbel, an able journalist who has written extensively in the field, with what this reviewer had hoped would be the long-sought volume. He must report, regrettably, that it isn't.

*The Compact History of the American Newspaper* has much in its favor. Tebbel's writing is sprightly, his tone congenial. He has exploited the lore of our journalism, and the best of it is here — the Zenger trial, the exposure of the Tweed Ring, Stanley finding Livingstone, the Bonfils-Tammen medicine show in Denver, and all the rest. In broad terms, the organization is excellent: Tebbel divides his story into three parts that reflect the changing function of the daily press since colonial times, the Newspaper as Propaganda, as Personal Instrument, and as Business Institution. He applies the brush of generalization boldly, and often enough to keep his detail in focus.

One trouble is that, while Bleyer drew upon his own vast research, Tebbel, a more facile writer in a more harried age, has leaned almost entirely upon secondary sources, including some dubious ones, so that he is once removed from his subject and often hazy or downright inaccurate about it. Another is that, like many of the papers in his narrative, he is too intent on titillating the reader with the colorful and the bizarre to dwell on what has mere significance. The index lists thirty-eight pages that refer to William Randolph Hearst and nine to Harry Tammen; Adolph Ochs gets three. Still another trouble, difficult to avoid in a "compact" treatment of an intricate subject, is that chronology is violated so often that one loses a sense of it: we read about the adless *PM*, for example, before being told of E. W. Scripps' venture (and it should be plural, for there were two) in adless journalism thirty years earlier. Finally, a history of the newspaper that fails to take into account the impact of radio, the news magazines, and television might just as well have been written in Bleyer's time.

On journalism today, we have the author's flat assertion that "the proportion of hard news to entertainment and features in newspapers has steadily declined during the past twenty years." Mott's appraisal, in his memoir published in 1962, that "newspapers are much better today than they were a hundred, or fifty, or even twenty years ago," backed by a lifetime of research in the field, seems more credible.

On balance, Tebbel's book is an engaging addition to the literature, but no substitute for the heavyweights.

LOUIS M. STARR

## Triumph of an editor

**SUCCESS STORY: The Life and Times of S. S. McClure.**  
By Peter Lyon. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$7.50.

The title of this book—which is the first full-scale biography of the man supremely identified with the most vibrant period in American magazine journalism—is at least half ironic. S. S. McClure left no tangible empire when he died in 1949, after nearly forty years of darkening obscurity. He set in motion enterprises that changed the character of journalism, but—unlike a Pulitzer, a Hearst, or even a Munsey—in the end he held nothing of his own. In his later years, he was hard put even to hold his good name against the inroads of former associates and historians.

In the literature of the muckraking era, McClure has appeared as a brilliant but indistinct figure, his motives questioned, his methods inadequately described. Indeed, he was himself the first offender. His autobiography was ghostwritten for him in 1912 and 1913 by one of his many former managing editors, Willa Cather. It narrates engagingly the trials of his boyhood as a poor Irish immigrant in Indiana, his struggle to get an education at Knox College in Illinois, and his battle to win the hand of Harriet Hurd,

daughter of a haughty Knox professor. But the story dims with his founding of his syndicate, and the McClure-Cather account of the rise of *McClure's Magazine* is negligible.

Likewise, his old colleagues — Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, William Allen White, Will Irwin, Mark Sullivan, Lincoln Steffens — have left contradictory accounts of him in their memoirs. Each contributed only a little light, agreeing only on the obvious fact that McClure operated like a whirlwind and constantly disconcerted his staff. The historians of muckraking — C. C. Regier, Louis Filler, and others — have occasionally slid into easy assumptions about the man, particularly, the cliché that McClure undertook muckraking only to raise circulation.

Peter Lyon, a free-lance writer, has undertaken to clarify the record. In his seven years of work on the project, Lyon's chief asset was the vast array of McClure's personal and business papers, which he found in possession of McClure's daughter in Connecticut. The biography abounds in excerpts from these papers, illuminating many a dark corner of McClure's life.

McClure far outlived his career. Any consideration of its significance must center on the years between 1884, when he started his syndicate, and 1912, when he finally lost editorial and financial control of his magazine. Lyon's appraisal of his contribution in this period of twenty-eight years is generous. On the literary syndicate, he quotes Talcott Williams (in 1891 managing editor of the *Philadelphia Press*) : ". . . this discovery of a new audience has multiplied by millions those who read and know the first authors of the day in certain classes of literary work. . . . These are great fruits to come from a life of thirty-four years."

In 1893, in the teeth of a great depression, McClure flung forth his magazine—in Lyon's words, "the most exciting, the liveliest, the best illustrated, the most handsomely dressed, the most interesting, and the most profitable of an abundance of superior magazines. Indeed, for the fifteen years from 1895 to 1910, *McClure's* was probably the best general magazine ever published anywhere."

Lyon bases this claim on the whole period of McClure's editorship, rather than on the golden age of 1902 to 1906, when the magazine was publishing the historic series of exposures by Steffens, Tarbell, and Baker. *McClure's* was a unique magazine, even before it undertook, as a logical outgrowth of McClure's methods, the literature of revelation. The pre-1900 volumes, even today, are bristlingly alive, not only because of the subject matter, but because of the names represented, nearly every one of which retains literary or historical meaning, even after six decades. Further, Lyon makes clear that McClure — and not



the writers, whose reputations have outlived his — was the true creator of the magazine's worth.

But were those fifteen years a mere flash in the sky? Did *McClure's* and its imitators fail to make a permanent impression on American journalism? The quick answer would be yes, for their content and their daring vanished before World War I. But lessons of McClure's method remained: his conviction that a magazine itself had to be a generator of ideas, not a mere repository; his idea that a talented writer, given sustenance, encouragement, and time can produce news beyond the reach of the daily press; his belief that dispassionate, factual literacy can outweigh polemics; and, above all, his demonstration that a

publication can speak plainly to the nation at large and not just to its educated few. All these have sunk, in varying proportions, into regular practices of the American press.

Journalism's debt to McClure's disruptive, wildly creative mind is considerable. Lyon has done a service in capturing its contradictions while revealing its true worth. He straightforwardly sets down both McClure's achievements and his failures and failings as a businessman and as a human being. If Lyon occasionally inserts the history of the period with a trowel he can be forgiven, for most of the book glows with life.

JAMES BOYLAN

---

## REPORTS ON JOURNALISM

### Built on delusion

Self-expression, as Don Marquis's immortal cockroach put it, is the need of the soul. In "The Would-Be Writer Industry" (*The Reporter*, October 24, 1963), Alan Levy, a free-lance writer, describes enterprises that feed on this need — trade magazines, writers' conferences, creative workshops with mail-order tie-ins, vanity presses, self-styled literary agents, and manuscript doctors who live off their supposed clients. Levy writes: "Somewhere between the sublime and the ridiculous lies a vast American industry that manufactures lists, mass-produces useless formulas, packages false hope, and offers encouragement to thousands who yearn for self-expression, instant immortality, or easy money through the printed word."

Levy notes that in *Writer's Digest* — the largest of the trade magazines — the biggest advertiser is *Writer's Digest* itself, with house ads promoting literary aids and services. He condemns many of the summer writers' conferences, "whose most clearly visible means of support are the Helen Hokinson ladies who turn up with checkbooks, well-thumbed manuscripts, lonely hearts and vague yearnings to write like Fannie Hurst." He assails "mail-order moguls," their "postal academies," and "literary agents who charge appraisal fees" and whose office factories "maintain canned paragraphs of encouragement."

Levy concludes: "The would-be writer industry has grown up to fill the needs of vast numbers on

the outside looking in. It has peddled hope indiscriminately to the hopeless and the hopeful. And what's more, it has blurred the distinction between them."

### War is dull

What has become of the Civil War? At the time of the centennial of First Bull Run, it seemed that the public was eager for four years of recollected gore. But now the *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (November 1, 1963) records that "soon after the initial anniversary celebrations, it became obvious to many pulse-conscious editors that readers weren't as fired up about the Civil War and its centenary as was originally supposed."

"The Civil War Centennial started as a good thing, but soon was clobbered to death. The civil rights struggle really buried it," said Harry Montgomery, *Arizona Republic* and *Phoenix Gazette*.

A few editors dissented. James Doran of the *Harrisburg Patriot-News* reported, "We are steeped in Civil War lore... you can start a heated discussion at the drop of a minnie ball."

The ultimate word of reassurance came from William Ray, Jr., of the *Atlanta Journal* and *Constitution*, who declared: "Interest in Georgia continues to increase as the events of a hundred years ago come closer to home. It will be at a peak with the burning of Atlanta next year."

DANIEL J. LEAB

# The legacy of Liebling

*The death of A. J. Liebling on December 28, 1963, deprived the American newspaper press of its one critic with a manner equal to the task. His work often bit deep — partly because the objects of his scorn could tell exactly what he meant. His strength was not in offering remedies; instead, he released into print the views and complaints of the "enlisted men." Below are a few strains, selected arbitrarily by the editors of the Review.*

When *The Wayward Pressman* was published in 1947, Liebling dedicated it:

*To the Foundation of a School for Publishers,  
Failing Which,  
No School of Journalism Can Have Meaning*

A few years later, remembering that dedication, he lamented:

Nobody has responded to that appeal, either. My advice apparently has no weight with Megabladons. But I read last year in the *New York Times* that Mr. Newhouse, the journalistic *chiffonier* . . . , has set aside 26 million dollars to be used, after his death, for the foundation of a School of Communications. The change in title from the old fashioned school of journalism underlines the decreasing role of newspapers in the future as envisaged by a busy paper-jobber. The institution will not be called a School of Information, either, I noted without astonishment, or a School of News. Communication means simply getting any idea across and has no intrinsic relation to truth. It is neutral. . . . "Journalism" has a reference to what happens, day by day, but "Communication" can deal, just as well, with what has not happened, what the communicator wants to happen, or what he wants the dupe on the other end to think. — *The Press* (1961).

Thousands of youngsters going into journalism dream of writing the great American novel, but few

think of building a great American newspaper. You don't need to have ten million dollars to start a novel. — "How to Learn Nothing," *The Wayward Pressman*.

As the number of cities in the United States with only a single newspaper ownership increases, news becomes increasingly nonessential to the newspaper. In the mind of the average publisher, it is a costly and uneconomic frill, like the free lunch that saloons used to furnish to induce customers to buy beer. If the quality of the free lunch fell off, the customers would go next door. — "The End of the Free Lunch," in *The Press*.

Newspapers write about other newspapers with circumspection. The two surviving press associations, whose customers are newspapers, write about newspapers with deference. Newspapers write about themselves with awe, and only after mature reflection. They know and revere their awful power, like a prizefighter in a bar full of non-prizefighters, they are loath to lose it. That is why they wait until late in a Presidential campaign to let the public know which man they support. — "The Big Decision," in *The New Yorker*, October 29, 1960; also in *The Press*.

The taxpayer is always "overburdened," but it occurs to me as I write that he is always represented in editorial cartoons as a small, shabby man in underclothes and a barrel (the kind of fellow who if he had a wife, two children, and no imagination, would be caught for an income tax of about \$8) and never as an unmistakably rich man, like, say the proprietor of a large newspaper. The man in the barrel is always warned that a frivolous project like medical care for his aged parents is likely to double his already crushing tax burden. The implication is that the newspaper owner is above worrying about his parents, and of course he is, because his old man left him the paper. — "The Deserving Rich," in *The Press*.

A couple of months ago, I had occasion to subscribe to twenty out-of-town newspapers, and the copies have been piling up in my office ever since.

## SECOND READING

Though depressed at encountering the same syndicated features in one paper after another, I sometimes read four or five of these papers at a stretch when I have nothing better to do, and even when I have. It is like eating pistachio nuts from the shell—unrewarding but hard to stop once you have begun. . . . When I read papers from less favored regions, I sometimes have to look up at the masthead to remind myself which one I am reading. —“The M.B.I.,” *The New Yorker*, January 3, 1948; also in *The Press*.

I wonder how many important stories never get into the newspapers at all. The American press makes me think of a gigantic, super-modern fish cannery, a hundred floors high, capitalized at eleven billion dollars, and with tens of thousands of workers standing ready at the canning machines, but relying for its raw material on an inadequate number of handline fishermen in leaky rowboats. At the point of contact with the news, the vast newsgathering organizations are usually represented either by a couple of their own harried reporters, averaging, perhaps, twenty-two years and eleven months old, or by a not too perceptive reporter on a small town paper whose version of an event, written up for his employer, may or may not be passed on to the wire services by someone in office. Not all the newspapers owners' towers of masonry, with their ingenious insides, like the Daily News Building, or all the tons of newsprint covered with red and black ink and pictures of women jumping out of windows can add anything to the quality of what these reporters regard as significant. —“Goodbye, M.B.I.,” *The New Yorker*, February 7, 1948; also in *The Press*.

The record does not indicate that only papers that try to be liberal or literate, or both, are doomed in

New York. The *Graphic* was an atrocious job and the *American* was beneath contempt, but they died just as dead as if they had been meritorious. Someday, a towering genius of the publishing business will get Li'l Abner and Steve Canyon and Dick Tracy and Moon Mullins and Barnaby under one tent with Walter Winchell and the Harvest Moon Dance Festival, and some other towering genius—or maybe the same one, using a different corporate name—will get Walter Lippmann and Arthur Krock and the Fresh Air Fund and the Hundred Neediest Cases under the same management, and the number of morning papers will be halved. It is so hard to tell the *World-Telegram* and the *Sun* apart now, except typographically, that a merger would be hardly noticeable. If the trend continues, New York will be a one- or two-paper town by 1975. —“Toward a One-Paper Town,” *The New Yorker*, February 18, 1949.

I am a chronic, incurable, recidivist reporter. When I am working at it I have no time to think about the shortcomings of the American or world press; I must look sharp not to come too short myself. Sinbad, clinging to a spar, had no time to think of systematic geography. To understand perfectly a new country, new situation, the new characters you confront on an assignment, is impossible. To understand more than half, so that your report will have significant correlation with what is happening, is hard. To transmit more than half of what you understand is a hard trick, too, far beyond the task of the so-called creative artist, who if he finds a character in his story awkward can simply change its characteristics. (Even to sex, *vide* Proust and Albertine. Let him try it with General de Gaulle.) It is possible, occasionally, to get something completely right—a scene, or a pattern of larceny, or a man's mind. These are the reporter's victories, as rare as pitcher's home runs. —*The Press*.

EDITORS' NOTE: A new edition of *The Press*, a paperback collection of Liebling's work published by Ballantine Books, appeared in January, 1964. It draws on material from *The New Yorker*, *The Wayward Pressman*, and *Mink and Red Herring* (1949).

November  
is  
too late

*From James Reston's column in The New York Times, January 17, 1964:*

Most newspapers pay little attention to the primary elections. They wait until the general election in November, which often means that they are merely left with a choice between two mediocre candidates, and then, more often than not, they go sled-length for the second-rater of their own political persuasion.

It would be difficult to overestimate the damage done to the quality of Congress by the amiable goodfellowship of newspaper editors and owners. Usually they know their Senators and Congressmen very well, and often go on backing them long after age or sickness has impaired their usefulness.

Lacking any lead from the papers, the voters do the same. They get accustomed to their representatives. The world changes, but they vote them back into office anyway and pass up innumerable good potential replacements in the process.

## To vote or not to vote

Edward W. Barrett's suggestion (in "Editorial Notebook," summer, 1963) that newspapers and broadcasters should tell uninformed voters to stay away from the polls brought a detailed letter of protest from one reader and support from another. Here are excerpts:

### TO THE REVIEW:

You have set my teeth on edge with your suggestion. . . . Who's to be the judge of what constitutes being informed? . . . There isn't the slightest doubt that a well-informed electorate is the best friend the democratic tradition could have; but as a practical matter there is little evidence to support the notion that a small vote by an informed electorate produces better results—or more democratic ones—than a large vote by a poorly informed electorate. After all, it is pretty well established in this country that certain rather undesirable political characters can be kept in office for many years by a relatively small number of voters. You can say that these voters are ignorant, or misguided, or any of a number of other things, but they are not uninformed about the issues or the candidates; they just happen to have what for them are perfectly valid reasons to keep their man in office.

Perhaps it shouldn't be a corollary, but it is: a large vote often remedies this situation, not necessarily by bringing in a better man, but by bringing in a man of necessity responsive to the interests of a greater number of people.

Why is an editor or anybody else in a position to say it's a patriotic duty to vote or, as you suggest, it's a patriotic duty not to vote under certain conditions? The democratic tradition may stem from the presumption of an informed electorate, but it could just as well stem from the presumption that if citizens are given the right and opportunity to participate in the process of their government they will—like infants and animals who are permitted to select their own diets—make pretty healthy decisions.

In such a context, then, we editors can also examine the quality

and quantity of information on which we base our own decisions and convictions: decisions on what to report and how to report it; and convictions on what we should "sell" on our editorial pages. If we can go through such a critical self-analysis and still pontificate about "patriotic duties," then we're either damned good editors, or no editors at all.

WARREN BLANDING

Editor

Transportation &  
Distribution Management  
Washington

### TO THE REVIEW:

I have found a great deal of agreement out here with your sentiments that only those who have taken the trouble to find out what the issues are and what the candidates stand for are proper voters.

We at Aerojet-General have been doing something about it during the last three election campaigns and propose to do it again in 1964. Good citizenship, to us, means stimulating a greater number to take a more active interest in the entire political process. We urge them to vote only after giving them an opportunity, on a truly nonpartisan basis, to look over and judge the candidates for themselves and to be sufficiently interested to back their opinions or their favorites with dollars.

GEORGE E. PELLETIER  
Special Assignments, PR  
Aerojet-General  
Corporation  
Glendale, California

## Inaccurate?

### TO THE REVIEW:

We have read with considerable interest A. Kent MacDougall's "The Newsletters: Capsulated Journalism" in the fall issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review*. We are pleased that *The Gallagher Report* was given so lengthy a mention in such an influential publication.

If yours were not such an influential publication, I would not bother to write this letter. . . . I

## LETTERS

doubt if you took seriously Mr. MacDougall's more cute than accurate summary that *"The Gallagher Report* is a breezy blend of untruths, half-truths, startlingly accurate scoops, and impudence."

As an example of inaccuracy the article points to *The Gallagher Report*'s statement that Time Inc. had decided to unload *House & Home*. Time Inc. did so decide. It even approached McGraw-Hill for the purpose of selling it. After it was turned down, it reconsidered and decided not to sell. *The Gallagher Report* so reported.

If the *Report* is so often wrong, we would very much like to know specifics on how and when. Undoubtedly the *Report* is not infallible, but we pride ourselves for accurate reporting.

Mr. MacDougall . . . says not a word about the fifteen studies we do each year, based on original research, to supply our readers with facts and figures that may be valuable in their business. Since we spend between \$10,000 and \$20,000 annually on this research, it is natural that we resent its being completely overlooked.

BERNARD P. GALLAGHER  
New York

### MR. MACDOUGALL REPLIES:

Specifics on how and when *The Gallagher Report* is wrong are so easy to come by that the problem is one of selection. My sample is confined to just one of the hundreds of publishers, broadcasters, ad agencies, advertisers, and others mentioned in the *Report* in the course of a year—Curtis:

A year after taking credit for "placing" Matthew (Joe) Culligan as president of Curtis, Mr. Gallagher expressed annoyance that Mr. Culligan wasn't taking

## LETTERS

all his freely offered advice. Particularly irksome was Mr. Culligan's refusal to lower the 45-issue-a-year frequency of the *Saturday Evening Post*. In the July 1, 1963 *Report*, Mr. Gallagher called "not making *Post* bi-weekly on alternate weeks with *Look*" Mr. Culligan's "number-one mistake."

Resentment at being ignored led Mr. Gallagher into many errors, of which the following two are representative:

*GR*, September 16, 1963: "Look for announcement shortly that *Saturday Evening Post* will go bi-weekly effective January 1."

Fact: The *Post* did not go bi-weekly January 1, and several Curtis officials have declared its 45-issue frequency will not change this year.

*GR*, October 21, 1963: "Common-share stockholders will protest million-dollar payoff at time when Curtis needs all the cash it can raise."

Fact: The "million-dollar payoff" refers to Curtis's promise to pay dividends in arrears on two classes of prior preferred stock if shareholders approved the \$35,000,000 refinancing plan at a special meeting December 10, 1963. Far from protesting that they weren't promised dividends too, common stockholders overwhelmingly approved the plan. Of 2,864,649 common shares voted, 2,848,175 favored the plan.

### TO THE REVIEW:

Kent states that "Mr. Gallagher expressed annoyance that Mr. Culligan wasn't taking all his freely offered advice." This is strictly a MacDougall interpretation. I was never aware of expressing annoyance. To say that a man made a mistake is an expression of opinion, not of emotion.

Kent's examples of errors are two, both dealing with Curtis Publishing.

1. "Look for announcement shortly that *Saturday Evening Post* will go bi-weekly effective January 1." This is clearly a prediction, not a mis-statement of fact.

2. "Common-share stockholders will protest . . . etc." This again was a prediction. We know stockholders who did protest. In fact, Curtis spent heavily in its campaign to convince stockholders by advertising and promotion to accept the deal. Many voted for the plan because they knew the overall refinancing was essential, even though they did not approve of the early payment of dividend arrears.

If Kent had written that *The Gallagher Report* is occasionally wrong in its predictions, we would not have complained, even though our batting average in prediction is remarkably high. What we object to is his statement that the *Report* "is a breezy blend of *untruths, half-truths*, startlingly accurate scoops, and impudence." (emphasis ours). When you accuse someone of untruth, you should prove it.

BERNARD P. GALLAGHER

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. MacDougall declined to reply further.

## Equal time

*In the summer, 1963, issue the Review examined news coverage of racial demonstrations in Birmingham newspapers. The newspapers, the Review said, reflecting "a general lack of contact with the Negro community," denied Negroes the right to present their views to Alabama readers. A spokesman for the Citizens' Councils of America feels that Southern white segregationists are being denied the right to present their arguments to the nation through the press. His letter said, in part:*

### TO THE REVIEW:

Regardless of whatever differences of opinion might exist between us on the merits of the segregation vs. integration controversy, I am sure we can concede that there is a basic disagreement between large numbers of responsible citizens on this subject. During the past ten years—and, more

especially, during the past few months—a marked degree of polarization has become evident.

During the integration crisis at the University of Mississippi, there were many days when more than 100 out-of-state newsmen visited my office, with dozens more calling long distance. I dare say that virtually all of these reporters had a preconceived idea of who was "right" and who was "wrong" in this controversy. It became apparent to me that many of them were only seeking someone to vocalize the quotes they had thought up the night before! (Nothing would have pleased them more than to quote some Mississippi leader as saying, "We hain't gonna 'low no nigras up tuh Ole Miss!")

My point is this: personal feelings aside, there are responsible, articulate, attractive and literate people on both sides of this question. Yet, by and large, the press has made little or no effort to present the views of such persons who happen to favor segregation. In fact, I can cite numerous examples of the press going out of its way to ignore opportunities to present this side of the argument.

By contrast, the press would have us believe that every Negro integration leader talks like an Oxford don.

... My reason for going into this in such detail is that it's a necessary preface to this question: What are journalism schools doing, or what should they be doing, to encourage their students and graduates to present the whole story?

... Is it responsible journalism to erect a paper curtain between North and South, to deny articulate spokesmen for the Southern position an opportunity to present their arguments to the nation, while at the same time revering the utterances of the professional agitators as though they were carved on tables of stone? Do you honestly believe the press of our nation has been fair on this issue?

RICHARD D. MORPHEW  
Director, public relations  
Citizens' Councils of  
America  
Jackson, Mississippi

## UNFINISHED BUSINESS

### Propaganda and news: rebuttals and support

In his Washington letter for fall, 1963, Ben H. Bagdikian reported on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's investigation, under Senator J. William Fulbright, of public-relations agencies acting as foreign agents. These agencies, the committee charged, have used news syndicates, with editors' cooperation, to disguise propaganda of foreign governments and companies. A newspaper or broadcasting station, Mr. Bagdikian wrote, may run stories or pictures for a foreign government without knowing the source, because the origins are not identified by the distributor. In addition, some organizations may have used news reporters on public-relations assignments, without revealing to the reporters the origins of such assignments.

C. Edmonds Allen, director of the special services bureau of United Press International, protested a reference to UPI's asking state legislators their intentions on banking legislation for "a non-journalistic client with interest in banking laws."

Mr. Allen wrote: "This was done for the *American Banker*, a

daily publication and a wire client of UPI."

Mr. Allen also noted that the processing of public-relations photographs was done by UPI's Commercial Photography Division, not by the Special Services bureau, as stated by Mr. Bagdikian.

Mr. Bagdikian replied on this point: "The essential relationship of United Press International to its public relations and commercial clients and the effect of this on news selection is correct, in my opinion, as stated in the Washington letter. I strongly urge anyone wishing to judge for himself to refer to the record of the hearings, Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States (particularly parts 3, 6, 7, and 8) Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 88th Congress, first session, available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C."

One statement in the Washington letter was corrected by the author: "It was stated that a pro-Trujillo editorial in the New Bedford *Standard-Times* had the same language as a Dominican editorial

sent out by U.S. Press Association. This was incorrect. The language of the *Standard-Times* editorial of that date was not identical. The author regrets the error, which arose from an ambiguous clipping in a public-relations agency scrapbook."

A newspaper editor's feelings about "PR-in-the-news" were expressed to Senator Fulbright's committee by Norman E. Isaacs, executive editor of the *Courier-Journal* and *The Louisville Times*, who said in November:

"It was — and it is — our feeling that there has been subterfuge when editors are not aware that the writers of material being transmitted to them may be employees of firms acting as agents of foreign governments. The matter being sent may be of no importance, in the sense of leading readers astray, but the essential fact is that a newspaper editor has the right to feel that the news agencies are represented by their own professional employees, individuals who are not in any way subservient to, or beholden to, any news source."

Supporting the Bagdikian position that reforms in the press too often "follow outside exposure, not self-policing," he continued:

"There is some arrant nonsense current in many newspaper circles, Mr. Chairman. I regret to say it is reflected in the statement of some of the best-known newspaper executives. This nonsense is that it is a gross error to make public criticism of anything wrong within journalism. As I understand it, we should say only those things which present the good side. And

# UNFINISHED BUSINESS

there are many good things about the press. But there are also some sad things. And if there is to be no public criticism of the bad, how can any reform ever take place?"

## The end at Lima

*In the winter, 1963, issue, John M. Harrison described an extended effort in Lima, Ohio, to establish a new newspaper in opposition to an older daily that had been sold to the R. C. Hoiles chain. Here Mr. Harrison, who covered early phases of the story for the Toledo Blade and now teaches at Pennsylvania State University, chronicles the final chapter.*

By JOHN M. HARRISON

The last issue of the *Lima Citizen* was published on January 7, 1964 — six years, six months, and six days after the first. With the sale of the *Citizen's* assets to the *Lima News* (for more than \$1,000,000), the attempt to break the hold of R. C. Hoiles's Freedom Newspapers on this Ohio city of 52,000 ended in failure.

Thus ended, too, an endeavor — unique in scope and duration — to restore competition to a newspaper monopoly city through public support. The story offers at least one lesson: that a newspaper cannot survive merely by being against a villain — especially when the villain reforms.

Announcement of the *Citizen's* sale to its rival was made to its 163 employees on the afternoon of January 3 by Sam Kamin and

James A. Howenstine, the two Lima industrialists who had put up more than \$100,000 in 1957 to get the newspaper going. By selling now, Kamin told employees enough could be salvaged to pay them.

The terms of sale did not cancel the \$7,800,000 suit for damages filed by Kamin and Howenstine, publishers of the *Citizen*, just a month previously in Federal District Court, alleging unfair competition on twenty-seven counts under both the Sherman and Clayton antitrust laws. If the suit is successful, the settlement will be distributed among stockholders.

Rumors that the sale was imminent had swept Lima for some days before it was announced. Much earlier, the danger signals were observable. Between October, 1962, and June, 1963, the disintegration in the *Citizen's* position had been startling.

In October, Wayne Current — the determined young man who had at first sustained the idea of a second newspaper almost alone — had said that "we aren't out of the woods yet," but had been hopeful. Eight months later, this same Wayne Current was a beaten and discouraged general manager. Already in June there were rumors in Lima, though most of them still were of purchase of both newspapers by a third party.

What happened? Much of the story of the death of the *Citizen* is told in figures that reflect a spiral downward from the initial advantages it gained in 1957. By September 30, 1963, the *News* had rebounded from its 1957 low of 15,000 daily subscribers to 29,000. The *Citizen*, which had hit the

25,000 mark early in its brief life, gained little more.

The *News's* widening circulation lead proved irresistible to advertisers previously loyal to the *Citizen*. A year ago, two of the three biggest had given 100 per cent of their advertising budgets to the *Citizen*; the third, 75 per cent. In 1963, all three cut their outlay, transferring the amount of the reduction to the *News*.

For the fiscal year ending July 1, 1962, the *Citizen* showed a profit (between \$50,000 and \$60,000) for the first time. Between July 1, 1963, and Christmas it lost \$58,000, according to Kamin.

The final attempt to rally community support was made by the *Citizen* late in 1963. Major advertisers and civic and financial leaders were invited to a meeting.

The editor, Bob Barton, says, "We received mostly expressions of good will, which we did not believe would be enough to go on."

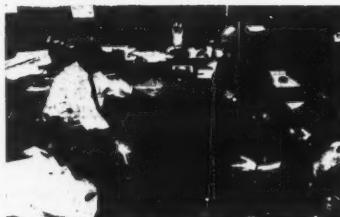
Several times in recent years the *Citizen* had sought to rekindle the fires of resentment against the Hoiles policies, which had led in 1957 to establishment of the *Citizen*. The first such effort had met with semi-success. But subsequent campaigns urging the need to "finish the job" drew resentment or indifference. Ironically, the *Citizen* found itself being criticized for indulging in "hate campaigns." The roles of the two newspapers were reversed in the eyes of some Lima residents, who liked the idea of competing newspapers.

That the *News* used every conceivable advantage in its established position to wage war against the *Citizen* is obvious. The new paper never was able to make much circulation headway against its rival outside Lima. And the *News* used special circulation deals and a widely distributed shopping guide to build both reader and advertising totals. It was difficult

'30' **The Lima Citizen** Local Owned Local Edited Local Delivered LIMA, OHIO TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1964 Phone 221-4850 20 Pages Page 2 Color

**FAREWELL FELLOW CITIZENS**

**Hearts Hang Heavy, But That Journey Into Limbo Is Made**



**LBJ To Attack Poverty**

**Pope Paul Launches Work On Encyclical**

**Accused Slayer Takes Own Life**

**The Lima Citizen**

**GREETINGS, FELLOW CITIZENS!**

**E. Germany Demands Brandt Participate**

**Beverton Man Dies In Weekend Auto Accident**

**Wives Of Edna St. Bonnet Face Tax Audit**

**Death To Come From Any Impacts**

**Five And A Half Years Ago, The First Citizen Published**

**Coats of Few Ages**

**Carries The Citizen**

**Inside The Citizen**

**Now The Main Citizen**

## An apology

This note is designed to correct, so far as is possible, an injustice done by the *Review* to the *New York Post*. In the summer, 1963, issue, the *Review* reprinted a photograph, distributed by The Associated Press, taken in Nashville during a racial demonstration. It showed a Negro man holding a knife over his head while he leaped a hedge. This version of the photograph appeared in many newspapers around the country. Alone among the newspapers inspected by the *Review* editors, the *New York Post* printed the photograph with the knife deleted by cropping of the picture.

The *Review* has learned that the *Post* was not responsible for the cropping of the picture. The cropping came about inadvertently at the time the photograph was being processed for Associated Press transmission from Nashville. There was a second transmission by AP when it was discovered that a portion of the photograph was missing. United Press International distributed the photo only in its uncropped form.

The caption under the *Review's* reproduction of the photographs implied that the *Post* had unjustifiably censored the photograph. Such was not the case.

In the fall issue, the *Review* printed a letter from John Seigenthaler, editor of the *Nashville Tennessean* (whose photographer, Eldred Reaney, had taken the original photograph), criticizing the *Post* for the supposed cropping. Mr. Seigenthaler based his remarks only on what he saw in the summer issue of the *Review*, and he is no way responsible for the *Review's* mistaken assumption.

The *Review* therefore offers its apologies to the editors of the *New York Post*.

for the *Citizen* to acquire features and services that the *News* already controlled. All these matters are involved in the antitrust suits still pending.

Perhaps the most powerful ally of the *News* in its battle with the upstart, however, was time. The key to the death of the *Citizen* was suggested as early as October, 1962, by E. Roy Smith, an affable, soft-spoken young man from Texas, who had been sent to Lima as publisher of the *News*. He had an obvious intent to soften the harshness of its editorial positions (e.g., opposition to a public library as

"socialism") and to improve its image in the community. "The calendar is on our side," was the way he put it.

Early this year, the calendar caught up with the *Lima Citizen* — with Wayne Current and the others who conceived the idea of a second newspaper, with Jim Howenstein, Sam Kamin, and 14,000 stockholders, with Bob Barton and the 162 other members of its working staff who worked to make it go. Thus Lima, Ohio reverted to the ranks of the hundreds of American cities in which there is but one newspaper voice.

## the lower case

### This is news?

On January 31, 1964, a column by James Reston appeared as follows on The New York Times editorial page:

## Washington

### The Policy of Not Fighting and Not Negotiating

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30—President Johnson is not likely to leave the Vietnam problem where it is. The last coup d'état in November was a tragedy. The second one this week was almost a joke—sort of a cabinet shuffle with tanks—and the United States is beginning to look

#### The vanishing Mr. Pinkley

In most of the newspapers that serialized former President Eisenhower's book, "The White House Years: Mandate for Change," the first paragraph appeared as follows:

Excerpted from the book, "The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956," Copyright, 1963, by Dwight D. Eisenhower. To be published by Doubleday & Co., Inc.

By DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

So far as I can now recall the earliest serious suggestion that I might become a presidential candidate one day was made by Virgil Pinkley in 1943. Pinkley, then a newspaper correspondent in the North African theater of World War II, came to see me shortly after the allies in the Mediterranean had succeeded at long last, in sweeping North Africa clean of Axis forces, overrunning Sicily, and landing in Italy.

Mr. Pinkley, remarking on the magnitude of these operations observed that in view of a practice that had all but become an American tradition. I would, as the war-

But not in the Los Angeles Times, (October 13, 1963) where the editors decided that General Eisenhower had not talked to anybody in particular. They altered his words accordingly:

So far as I can now recall, the earliest serious suggestion that I might one day become a Presidential candidate was made in 1943 by a newspaper correspondent in the North African theater of World War II, who came to see me shortly after the Allies in the Mediterranean had succeeded, at long last, in sweeping North Africa clean of Axis forces, overrunning Sicily, and landing in Italy.

Remarking on the magnitude of these operations, the newsman observed that in view of a practice that had all but become an American tradition I would, as the wartime commander of large

Mr. Pinkley, it appears, was once editor and publisher of a late sister paper of the Times, the Los Angeles Mirror. He left the paper suddenly in 1957, having raised — according to reports at the time — the paper's circulation and losses.

On the same day, it was carried in the San Francisco Chronicle (which had just begun to receive the Times service after the end of the Times Western Edition). But in the Chronicle, it was carried on page one, under a four-column headline, "Big U.S. Policy Switch Likely on Vietnam," as follows:

## Johnson Trapped Into Acting

By James Reston  
New York Times

Washington

President Johnson is not likely to leave the Vietnam problem where it is.

The first coup d'état, in November, was a tragedy. The second one, this week, was almost a joke—sort of a Cabinet shuffle with tanks—and the United States is beginning to look not only inefficient but

# SUBSCRIPTION AND GIFT ORDER FORM

## COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

1 year	\$ 6
2 years	\$11
3 years	\$15

Add \$.50 per year for delivery  
outside the United States and  
its possessions.

Please enter a subscription to the COLUMBIA  
JOURNALISM REVIEW as indicated below.

Send to \_\_\_\_\_ (please print)

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

1 year  2 years  3 years I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_  Please bill me

If above order is a gift, donor should fill in here:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Gift Card To Read From \_\_\_\_\_ "

Enter my own subscription at the same time:  New  Extension from present expiration

FIRST CLASS  
PERMIT No. 22712  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**  
No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY

**COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW**  
**504 JOURNALISM • COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**  
**NEW YORK 27, N. Y.**

## Better red than no head

Below is the headline in the Metro edition of the New York World-Telegram & Sun for January 17, 1964:

# Fear Panama Coup As Reds Sow Hate

### The wonderful art of excerpting

The following was carried in advertisements in New York papers on January 20 for a biography of Nelson Rockefeller, published by Macmillan:

**"The biography clearly reflects Mr. Desmond's wide understanding of professional politics, how nominations are won and lost and how Rockefeller won one and lost another....It also provides a number of illuminating insights into the way Rockefeller learned his craft, together with some rather candid quotations from the Governor on his relations with various Washington figures....a well-written exposition of a significant politician's life."**

—WARREN WEAVER, THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

Here is an excerpt of January 19 from the original, with a few parts restored:

The biography clearly reflects Mr. Desmond's wide understanding of professional politics, how nominations are won and lost and how Rockefeller won one and lost another. In this sense it will make interesting election-year reading for uninitiated Americans trying to learn how the Republicans are choosing their Presidential candidate and who he will be. It also provides a number of illuminating insights into the way Rockefeller learned his craft, together with some rather candid quotations from the Governor on his relations with various Washington figures, none of whom, it develops upon inspection, appears likely to affect his present political plans. Unfortunately, as readers of Mr. Desmond's newspaper columns will discover, too little

of the author's characteristic pungency and irreverence breaks through the history to bring it to fuller life.

**M**ORE serious, the book is extraordinarily lacking in a balanced assessment of its subject—or in interpretations of his various trials that reflect anything other than his own viewpoint. For example, closing the

The Desmond book is a well-written exposition of a significant politician's life as he recalls and interprets it. But if this is a "warts and all" biography, Nelson Rockefeller has a much clearer political complexion than many of his closest observers have detected.

## Confusion Is Blamed On Chiari

By HAL HENDRIX  
*Scripps-Howard Newspapers*

PANAMA CITY, Jan. 17—The possibility of a coup against President Roberto Chiari or his resignation appears to be increasing in the confused aftermath of anti-American mob violence here.

Intense pressures against the harried chief executive have mounted as it be-

But the story mentions no Reds on page one. Here, on page two, nine inches down in the story, are the hate-sowers:

get back on a more friendly basis with Washington, are clamoring for a toning down of anti-American declarations

Meanwhile, some young Communist leaders are taking skillful advantage of the mushrooming chaos to keep passions inflamed. Observers note the ringleaders have had training in Communist Cuba.

One extreme leftist student  
ader Cesar Car squijua

NOTE: In a fit of indecision, "the lower case" in the fall issue spelled the first name of one Mr. Gruson of The New York Times in two ways. "Sydney" is correct.